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THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is published at 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, bi-monthly in February, April, June, August, October and December. Copyright 1944 by the American Sociological Society.

Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$6.00 per Year. Subscription rates: non-members, \$4.00; libraries, \$3.00. Single issues, \$1.00. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States, Canada, and other countries in the Pan-American Union; other countries in the Postal Union, fifty cents.

Address all business communications to the Managing Editor, U. S. Dept. of Agri., Washington (25), D.C. Changes of address must be requested at least one month in advance.

Address all editorial communications to the Editors, Jones Hall 108, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (14), Minnesota. All unsolicited manuscripts must enclose return postage.

Address all matters pertaining to book reviews to the Editors, Jones Hall 108, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (14), Minnesota.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P. L. and R., authorized June 4, 1936.

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American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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THE CONTEMPORARY PASTORATE

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROXIMITY
OF MINISTERIAL RESIDENCE TO CHURCH LOCATION*

STANLEY H. CHAPMAN
University of Pennsylvania

THE PRACTICAL application of sociological studies to church problems was suggested early in their development.¹ The revolutionary effects of changing community patterns has been emphasized by a number of students. This is a report on a specific study made in New Haven, bearing upon the contemporary pastorate. The findings here presented pretend to be no more than a report upon an interesting pattern under analysis, of significance only in New Haven until demonstrated to have their counterpart elsewhere.

The traditional American pattern of the ministry was set in colonial New England, with the church occupying a central position on the village green and the minister living next door to his church. The pastor lived

surrounded by his flock, ready to give spiritual ministration, to advise in secular matters, and even upon occasion to take part in such secular affairs as the putting in of hay. The ministry was the pastorate—an active shepherding of the faithful.

This rural provincial pattern has disappeared before the advances of industrialization, urbanization, and increasing community heterogeneity. It was once applicable to New Haven, Connecticut—the community here studied. It is no longer. In the century from 1630 to 1730, there was one church, which was Congregational. By 1790 there were six churches—five Congregational and one Episcopal. In contrast to this pattern of slow development and diversification, there were in 1942 one hundred and twelve churches, divided among some forty denominations.

For purposes of convenience, denominations (and undenominational churches) can be classified into four Church Groups: Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, and Other.²

* The impetus to this study and counsel in making it have come from Professor Maurice R. Davie. Valuable critical suggestions have been made by Professor Jame H. S. Bossard. Some of the pitfalls inherent in application of ecological techniques to the study of the church were pointed out by Professor Joseph Van Vleck.

¹ A. E. Holt, in "The Sources and Methods of the Sociology of Religion," in *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, edited by L. L. Bernard, New York, 1934, p. 426, and note 9 listing some of the exploratory work; and by the same author, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Church," *American Journal of Sociology*, Jan., 1933, 38:507-522.

² For uniformity of usage and the avoidance of confusion in giving common words special meaning, Church Group will be capitalized and consistently used as a two-word combination.

Although not presented as a methodological contribution, the fourfold breakdown of Church Groups is a simple, usable, and historically significant one.

Ministers (meaning inclusively clergymen, priests, rabbis, and recognized leaders of worship in churches) may or may not live in quarters adjacent to their churches. In a modern city it is more significant whether they live in the same general neighborhood, whether they live in the same *kind* of neighborhood as their church. The two considerations of geographical and social distance are equally significant but will not be explored here. The basic ecological analysis of New Haven here used is that developed by Professor Maurice R. Davie³ and resulting in what have come to be known as Davie Districts,⁴ of which there are twenty-five, further classifiable into seven District Types:⁵

- A. Upper Class Residential
- B. Upper Middle Class Residential
- C. Lower Middle Class Residential
- D. Lower Class Residential
- E. Business
- F. Industrial
- G. Yale University

In order, the Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, and Other Church Groups rank by diminishing age and stand in order of historical sequence and of related evolution. Other categories are available—i.e., *ritualistic* or *sacramentalian*, *experiential* or *emotional*, *intellectual* or *doctrinal*, and *racial*. (E. T. Clark: *Small Sects in America*, Nashville, Tenn., Cokesbury Press, 1926, p. 25.) These four, however, which do not take account of doctrinal content, are socially relevant and usable in terms of nationality, geography, and history. They apply to the American scene generally and specifically to New Haven.

Elin Anderson, in *We Americans* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, p. 78), writes: "Only the three major divisions into Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish still retain a philosophical justification. The original issues which determined men to select one sect or another have more or less been replaced by social or economic distinctions."

³ "The Pattern of Urban Growth," in *Studies in the Science of Society*, G. P. Murdock, Ed. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937, pp. 133-162.

⁴ G. E. Evans, "Social and Geographic Distribution of Dispensary Cases of Rheumatic Fever in New Haven," in *Rheumatic Fever in New Haven*, 1941, pp. 93-108. Davie Districts, called ecological areas by Professor Davie, have been used in the literature devoted to ecological study of New Haven.

⁵ A six-category classification is used by Evans (*op. cit.*, pp. 101-108); a four-category classification by M. R. Davie and R. J. Reeves ("Propinquity of Residence Before Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, Jan., 1939, 44:504-517).

The first four District Types have scaled relationship; the last three are purely descriptive.

Since the Davie District (hereafter referred to simply as District) is by definition an area of homogeneous characteristics which would not only explain the presence of a particular church but also draw the minister to it if his constituency had sufficient ties to the church to inspire communicant or member residence, ecological analysis would be expected to show the same tendency in ministers as in flock. An exception is to be noted in the case of the centrally located church, in which case the minister and also church members would have to live in the central business area. Such churches obviously draw their membership and attendance in whole or in large part from other, residential, Districts. In this connection particularly geographical and social distance could well be made the criteria of companion studies, taking into account the difference in size of Districts. Actually, so far as a central church serving the whole community is concerned, minister and parishioner live throughout the whole community. Table I, "Church and Minister Address Analyzed by Identity of or Difference in District and District Type," shows an interesting Church Group pattern.

As the analysis discloses, no Jewish ministers live in the same District as their churches; the reverse is true of the Other Group. This unusual situation among the Jews is to be explained by the lag of their churches behind the movement of the Jewish population out of the center of the city.

Twenty-two of the 23 Catholic ministers live in the same District as their churches. The single Catholic minister who lives in a different District is pastor of the off-campus chapel serving Yale University constituents. This definite pattern in the case of Catholic Churches and their minister reflects not only the distribution of Catholic population, especially marked in the case of minorities, but also Church policy and practice, for the minister's residence is commonly a part of the church property.

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ly evenly in this respect. Their pattern of residence with reference to District Type presents some interesting features. In Dis-

An hypothesis that may be suggested from the above considerations is that the church is more integrated with the community when

TABLE I. CHURCH AND MINISTER ADDRESS ANALYZED BY IDENTITY TO OR DIFFERENCE IN DISTRICT AND DISTRICT TYPE*

Dist. of Church	Dist. Type of Church	Minister Residence Compared with Church Location by District		Church Group Break-down of Minister Residence Compared with Church Location by District							
				Jewish		Catholic		Protestant		Other	
		Same	Different	Same	Diff.	Same	Diff.	Same	Diff.	Same	Diff.
I	A	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—
II	B	6	2	—	1	2	—	3	1	1	—
III	C	2	2	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	—
IV	D	6	1	—	—	4	—	1	1	1	—
V	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VI	D	3	3	—	—	2	—	1	3	—	—
VII	C	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
VIII	C	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
IX	C	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
X	B	3	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—
XI	C	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
XII	C	5	5	—	1	3	—	2	4	—	—
XIII	D	1	3	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—
XIV	B	3	5	—	2	2	1	1	2	—	—
XV	C	12	1	—	1	1	—	11	—	—	—
XVI	B	3	3	—	1	1	—	1	2	1	—
XVII	A	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
XVIII	B	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
XIX	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XX	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XXI	C	4	2	—	—	1	—	3	2	—	—
XXII	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XXIII	E	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—
XXIV	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XXV	G	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—
Total		59	39	—	9	22	1	34	29	3	—
Summary by District Type:											
	A	4	1	—	—	1	—	3	1	—	—
	B	20	13	—	4	6	1	8	6	2	—
	C	24	10	—	2	8	—	20	10	—	—
	D	10	7	—	3	6	—	3	4	1	—
	E	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—
	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	G	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—
Total		59	39	—	9	22	1	34	29	3	—

* This table analyzes only 98 of the 112 churches in New Haven. The 15 not included have no ministers or have ministers whose addresses are not known.

trict Type C or better (from the point of view of residential desirability), District identity of church and minister's residence is greater than District difference; the contrary is true of District Type D or lower.

the minister resides in the same district as his church than when the opposite conditions obtain. Whether or not the suggestion is valid could be ascertained only by a detailed study of the hourly, daily, and weekly com-

TABLE II. MINORITY CHURCH AND MINISTER ADDRESS ANALYZED BY IDENTITY TO OR DIFFERENCE IN DISTRICT, BY MINORITIES, CHURCH GROUPS, AND DISTRICT TYPES*

Minority	Church Group			Church		Minister		Relation of Church and Minister Address	
	Jewish	Cath- olic	Protes- tant	Dist.	Dist. Type	Dist.	Dist. Type	District	District Type
Danish	—	—	1	16	B	**	**	diff.	diff.
French	—	1	—	4	D	4	D	same	same
German	—	1	—	2	B	2	B	same	same
	—	—	1	3	C	3	C	same	same
	—	—	1	12	C	12	C	same	same
	—	—	1	12	C	16	B	diff.	diff.
	—	—	1	13	D	13	D	same	same
	—	—	1	23	E	17	A	diff.	diff.
Greek	—	1	—	14	B	14	B	same	same
Italian	—	1	—	4	D	4	D	same	same
	—	1	—	6	D	6	D	same	same
	—	1	—	12	C	12	C	same	same
	—	—	1	6	D	6	D	same	same
	—	—	1	12	C	23	E	diff.	diff.
Jewish	1	—	—	2	B	14	B	diff.	same
	1	—	—	12	C	16	B	diff.	diff.
	1	—	—	13	D	14	B	diff.	diff.
	1	—	—	13	D	16	B	diff.	diff.
	1	—	—	13	D	16	B	diff.	diff.
	1	—	—	14	B	16	B	diff.	same
	1	—	—	14	B	16	B	diff.	same
	1	—	—	15	C	12	C	diff.	same
Lithuanian	—	1	—	4	D	4	D	same	same
Negro	—	—	11	15	C	15	C	11 same	11 same
Polish	—	1	—	3	C	3	C	same	same
Russian	—	1	—	15	C	15	C	same	same
Swedish	—	—	1	2	B	2	B	same	same
	—	—	1	3	C	**	**	diff.	diff.
	—	—	1	4	D	4	D	same	same
Ukrainian	—	1	—	14	B	14	B	same	same
Total	9	10	22					27 same 14 diff.	31 same 10 diff.

* This table of 41 minority churches of the total of 49 in New Haven includes all those with ministers whose addresses are known.

** These minister residences are not in New Haven and are therefore not capable of Davie District and District Type analysis.

TABLE III. NON-MINORITY CHURCH AND MINISTER ADDRESS ANALYZED BY IDENTITY OR DIFFERENCE OF DISTRICT, BY CHURCH GROUP AND DISTRICT TYPE*

District	District Type	District of Church	District Type of Church	Minister Residence Compared with Church Location by District		Church Group Breakdown of Minister Residence Compared with Church Location by District					
				Same		Different		Catholic		Protestant	
				Same	Diff.	Same	Diff.	Same	Diff.	Same	Diff.
II.	diff.	I	A	2	1	—	—	2	1	—	—
me	same	II	B	4	1	1	—	2	1	1	—
me	same	III	C	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
me	same	IV	D	2	1	1	—	—	1	1	—
me	same	V	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
f.	diff.	VI	D	1	3	1	—	—	3	—	—
me	same	VII	C	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	—
f.	diff.	VIII	C	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—
me	same	IX	C	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
me	same	X	B	3	—	1	—	2	—	—	—
me	same	XI	C	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
me	same	XII	C	3	2	2	—	1	2	—	—
me	same	XIII	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
me	same	XIV	B	1	3	—	1	1	2	—	—
me	same	XV	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
f.	diff.	XVI	B	3	1	1	—	1	1	1	—
f.	same	XVII	A	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
f.	diff.	XVIII	B	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—
f.	diff.	XIX	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
f.	diff.	XX	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
f.	diff.	XXI	C	4	2	1	—	3	2	—	—
f.	diff.	XXII	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
f.	diff.	XXIII	E	—	5	—	—	—	5	—	—
f.	same	XXIV	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
f.	same	XXV	G	1	2	1	—	—	2	—	—
		Total		32	25	12	1	17	24	3	—
		Summary by District Type:									
			A	4	1	1	—	3	1	—	—
			B	12	6	3	1	7	5	2	—
			C	12	7	5	—	7	7	—	—
			D	3	4	2	—	—	4	1	—
			E	—	5	—	—	—	5	—	—
			F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			G	1	2	1	—	—	2	—	—
		Total		32	25	12	1	17	24	3	—

* This table analyzes only 57 of the 64 non-minority churches. Those not included have no ministers or have ministers whose addresses are not known.

ministers and service demanded of and rendered by ministers in the two sets of circumstances.

The summary of Protestant identity and difference runs from a predominant identity through District Type C to exclusive difference in E and G. There are no churches in F. In terms of Protestant distribution of

population by District Types, this is to be expected: where communicants and members do not live, the minister would not be expected to reside. The element of prestige is also to be inferred: ministers will not be expected to reside where economic and social disadvantage obtain. In general it appears that Protestant ministers tend to live in the

same or better Districts than their churches. The Negro churches and their ministers are segregated in a single District. If only the whites are considered, the tendency of the Protestant minister to live in another—and better—District than his church is especially marked.⁶

In Table II, which performs the same analysis for minority churches separately, the Church Group division is even more apparent. The Jews have already been mentioned: all their ministers live in Districts different from their churches. The Protestants are divided between 17 the same and 5 different—6 same and 5 different if only white churches are considered. Table III analyzes non-minority churches and presents even more distinctly the same Protestant pattern—with 24 cases where the minister lives in a different District to the 17 where he lives in the same District.

Jewish churches, then, display evidence of the loosest integration with the community so far as residence of the ministry is concerned; Catholic,⁷ the closest. Protestant churches occupy an intermediate position. A middle-class phenomenon, the Other Group has a District Type pattern that matches residence with address. Its identity of church and minister address shows the present marginal nature of the Group: rather

⁶This is clearly borne out by the following analysis: Of the 14 white ministers resident in New Haven but not in the District of their churches: Five are Jewish; 4 have moved upward 7 District Type places (3 from D to B, 1 from C to B), and 1 has moved down 1 (from B to C). One is Catholic—the Yale University quasi-chaplain—who has moved upward 1 District Type place (from B to A). Nine are Protestants; 8 have moved upward 10 places (3 from B to A, 1 from C to A, and 1 from C to B, 1 from D to B, and 2 from D to C), and 1 has moved down 1 (from B to C). The six ministers from churches in District Types E, F, and G are Protestant and all live in A or B Districts: 4 in A—3 from E and 1 from G; and 2 in B—1 each from E and G.

than the minister residing near his church, the church has its location at the minister's residence; not institutional stability and integration but institutional immaturity is exemplified.⁷

The exceptions of the Jews and the Negroes aside, one can make the general summary statement that proximity of minister to church tends to decrease with the experienced tradition of social adjustment within the larger community. New Haven was established as a Protestant community-state. Since the formation of the first (Congregational) church in 1639 the Protestant Church Group has been the most advantaged, conferring the most participant prestige, and consistently carrying whole-community distinction. From the formation in 1848 of the first Catholic church to persist, the Catholic Church Group has stood second in advantage, prestige, and distinction. Ecological inspection bears out their relative order for Catholic and Protestant minority groups as well as the whole Church Groups. The Jews, who organized their first church in 1840, are a special case because, among other reasons, of the forces incident to ecological succession. The Other Group, as has been remarked, is marginal and of little general significance.

Expressly excepting the Catholic Group, District Type analysis leads to a further generalization on minister status. In established churches the minister may still be somewhat above the average of the community even though he may not be the leader in education, general influence, and social standing that he was in earlier days.

⁷Guizot has explained vitality of church as a function of the dispersal of the ministry throughout the community, stressing the significance of participation by the minister in the community life of his constituency. (F. P. G. Guizot: *The History of Civilization in Europe*, translated by William Hazlitt, New York, A. L. Burt Co., n.d., p. 322.)

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VEBLEN'S STUDY OF MODERN GERMANY

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IT is an interesting paradox that the lesser aspects of Thorstein Veblen's work have contributed most to his popular reputation, while some of his best writings have gone almost unnoticed. Indeed, Veblen is the subject of several paradoxes. Few other Americans have had as much influence on the social thought of their times. Yet he left no "school" to elaborate his point of view.¹

Veblen's first full-length work, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), established him before the public as a satirist. Subsequent opinion has either extravagantly praised the book or roundly condemned it. Both views have been partisan rather than objective. The work is in fact a very keen and pioneer analysis of the latent sociological functions of consumption as symbols of social status in our competitive society. On the other hand, its exclusive concern with the invidious aspect of contemporary life entirely overlooks the cohesive function of consumption habits in expressing the basic values of the group.² The decided limitations of Veblen's analytical system of social theory, his undeniable antipathy toward his subject, and his unique literary style have combined to obscure the real sociological nature of this, his best known work.

Veblen's most substantial achievement, however, is his *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (1915) and its sequel, *The Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation* (1917).³ There he comes clos-

¹ Veblen was the unrecognized progenitor of the culture-lag school in American sociology. He was a prime influence on the institutional movement in American economics, although no institutionalist has ever been a disciple of Veblen. His impress on social ethics and policy has been felt in such widely different movements as Technocracy and certain aspects of the New Deal, neither of which was Veblen's brain-child in any immediate sense.

² Cf. A. K. Davis, "Veblen on the Decline of the Protestant Ethic," *Social Forces*, vol. 22, March 1944.

³ His other major works are: *The Theory of*

est to transcending the inadequacies of his theoretical system, with a consequent insight into empirical problems that is nowhere keener. These studies have a current interest as well as a scientific one. Veblen's analysis of the social structure of modern Germany and the possible relations between Germany and the other Powers is still worth reading. Despite his great errors and greater omissions, he grasped the essentials of several leading issues.⁴

Veblen's explicit sociological theory was set forth in his earlier works in terms of *habits* and *instincts*. The instincts he employed were the instinct of workmanship, the parental bent, and idle curiosity, all of which he portrayed as uniformly benevolent. In prehistoric cultures, according to Veblen, they defined the goals of human activity. Habits gradually evolved as the means to those ends. But, being cumulative and rigidifying, the habits eventually gained enough autonomy to submerge the instincts and to take over their function of formulating the goals and general constellation of group action. The more persistent habits Veblen called *institutions*. He conceived of them as uniformly predatory.

Although *habit* and *instinct* were defined originally by Veblen in biological and reflexive terms, they both contained important value elements as actually used. Veblen never broadened his theoretical system to include these normative elements. The clash between his explicit biological orientation and his im-

Business Enterprise, N.Y., 1904, second in popularity only to the *Theory of the Leisure Class*; *The Instinct of Workmanship*, N.Y., 1914, which with certain essays in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization*, N.Y., 1919, contains most of his economic and social evolutionary theory; and *Absentee Ownership*, N.Y., 1923, an elaboration of earlier ideas, more outspoken, but not new.

⁴ See Vice-President Wallace's tribute, "a modern Isaiah"; Henry Wallace, "Veblen's Imperial Germany," *Political Science Quarterly*, 55, September, 1940.

plicit formulations led to confusion and obscurity in his work. But in his studies of the leisure class and modern Germany the underlying substance of his thought shows to best advantage. The gain centers about Veblen's concept of institutions. He employed the concept there, not in the sense of mere habit, but as a meaningfully integrated value pattern "defining the situation" for the group.

Two other important criticisms of his general theoretical and philosophical position will appear later. They concern Veblen's evolutionary view of history, with its corollary of culture-lag, and his vein of Utopian anarchism. The effects of these preconceptions on his sociological theory were limiting in the extreme, for they prevented any consideration of a social system as a functioning whole.

Veblen began his study of Germany by outlining two types of societies, the Dynastic State and the Constitutional State. Examples of the former were Germany and Japan; of the latter, England and America. Veblen's attention centered on Germany and England.

The Dynastic State, according to Veblen, is authoritarian. Its supreme policy is extending the power and glory of the dynasty. Externally this issues in aggression; internally, in centralization. Veblen argued that coercion is not the mainspring of the Dynastic State, as an American observer might assume. Instead, its intense patriotism is part of a common value pattern furnishing positive cohesion to the German state. Such coercion as exists is a symptom thereof rather than the essence. Unlike many political scientists of his day, Veblen looked beneath the external forms of government structures.

Veblen's Constitutional State is a democracy or a commonwealth. He often called its government a "committee for the business man," functioning mainly to further business interests.⁵ The population has more rights, or immunities from government interference, than does a Dynastic people. The philosophy of the masses leans toward that of "Live and

⁵ *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, N.Y., 1904, ch. 8, especially p. 269; *Absentee Ownership*, N.Y., 1923, ch. 2; *The Vested Interests*, N.Y., 1919, ch. 6.

let live." Such nations, he wrote, fight mainly on provocation, whereas Dynastic States much more frequently use war as an instrument of policy.⁶

The substance of Veblen's work on modern Germany—the period of the First Reich—turns on two major complexes of elements: (1) the new machine technology; (2) the old scheme of "use and wont," or custom. Elsewhere he describes technology as the dynamic agent in social change.⁷ Normally it undermines the established institutions of a society. It operates in terms of mechanical, objective cause and effect, whereas institutions are inherited conventions defining what is right and good. Veblen considered the latter as anthropomorphic, personal, the opposite of the blind mechanism of modern technology. The influence of the machine process gradually leads men to judge everything by cold efficiency. Technology in England and America has made for a skepticism and even a semirepudiation of the traditional *laissez-faire* state, private property, the family, religion, and other institutions.

But in Germany, according to Veblen, the institutional system still dominates technology. This is because of the relative newness of industrialism, and the unique and rugged nature of the institutional pattern, the essence of which is feudalistic. Authority is monopolized by a semi-feudal class pervaded by a warlike animus. Despite the recent modifications of this late-medieval pattern, the feudal "habit of mind" has persisted.⁸

Veblen's main thesis is that the machine process, borrowed readymade from England,

⁶ The most detailed study on the frequency of wars among modern nations is by Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, N.Y., 1937, vol. 3, part 2. His conclusions are somewhat different. Veblen fails to qualify his statement with respect to temporal variations.

⁷ Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, ch. 8.

⁸ "In later times (after the neolithic period) people came to deal with aliens in the way of raiding. . . . Out of these predatory beginnings, legitimized by use and wont, presently came the Dynastic State. . . . There the community has grown to feel itself at one with its masters." Veblen, *Imperial Germany*, p. 167.

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came so recently to Germany that it was merely harnessed to the existing Dynastic order. Its slow working, anti-institutional effects have had no time to undermine the predatory bent inherited from the feudal mentality.

The reason for the persistence of German's feudal outlook Veblen gave as her 2000 years of warlike experience.⁹ While there is doubtless some validity in that point of view, it does not warrant the exclusive emphasis Veblen places on it.

He went on, however, to put his finger on one of the central moral premises of German social structure. Its crux was the "concept of duty." The highest virtue was loyalty, obedience to authority. This fitted admirably into the Dynastic order of affairs. Another aspect pointed out by Veblen was the peculiar German concept of the State, according to which sovereignty resides neither in the people nor in the ruler, but in the half mystical, super-organic, moral community called the State. The ruler personifies the State.¹⁰ Veblen indicated that the practical outcome of all this was apparently plain authoritarianism. But he took pains to emphasize the underlying meanings which the Germans attached to their authoritarian behavior. He demonstrated the impossibility of taking pure coercion as the essential cohesive factor in German social organization.

Although Veblen discussed these matters in terms of habits, what he did in effect was to outline an institutional pattern which constitutes an important section of the German common value structure. The main elements in Veblen's picture were the semi-mystical conception of the State, the extension of its power and glory as the highest aims of its citizens, their intense loyalty to duty as the means of realizing those aims, and the minimizing of individual interests in

⁹ On "Germany the battlefield of Europe," see S. B. Fay, *Rise of Brandenburg-Prussia*, N.Y., 1937; Müller-Friensels, *Psychologie des deutschen Menschen*, Munich, 1930, pp. 29-30; Rosinski, *The German Army*, London, 1939; and many others. The idea is a common one.

¹⁰ Veblen, *Imperial Germany*, pp. 154, 160-162. His interpretation seems fairly true. Cf. Gooch, *Theories of the State*, London, 1915.

favor of those of the State. He almost arrived at the new conception of institutions now developing in sociology, which sees the common-value or institutional element as the fundamental integrating factor in a society. These values, when meaningfully integrated, define for a group the normative ends and means of social action; its ethical and religious orientation, its general *Weltanschauung*, its system of authority and stratification; in brief, its scale of moral values.¹¹ This is the direction in which Veblen's "concept of duty" and his whole treatment of Germany were pointing.

Having shown the aggressive tendencies in the German common value constellation, Veblen turned his attention to the similar tendencies deriving from modern capitalism. His ideas, which have an indirect Marxian affinity, dealt with the inherently expanding needs of capitalism for markets, investment channels, and raw materials. German capitalism developed mostly after 1860.¹² By then other Powers had seized the cream of colonial resources, and were beginning to stake off their own home markets with tariff barriers. German capitalism was thus increasingly impelled to more highly rationalized techniques, and ultimately to non-competitive methods. Interestingly enough, Veblen never attempted to make capitalism the major source of German militancy. His works as a whole show capitalism as a dynamic element wherever it has developed. In Germany it merely reinforced a current already flowing in the same direction.

More self-consciously than many other States, Germany viewed the new commerce and industry as means of strengthening the empire.¹³ Veblen held that the union of predatory, even fanatical, institutional values

¹¹ Cf. in particular the works of Comte, Durkheim, Sorokin, and Max Weber.

¹² Veblen's authority here was Sombart, *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1903.

¹³ Veblen was not alone in this view. "State enterprise, originating in the time of patriarchalism and absolutist rule, is the tradition of German government," W. Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, N.Y., 1909, p. 207. This citation is typical of many studies of German economic history.

with modern industrial technology made Germany a grave menace. But he considered this combination inherently unstable. The machine process, according to his theory of social change, tends to wear down Germany's archaic institutional pattern.¹⁴

He envisaged two possible solutions of this dilemma. First, the Germans "may yet be able to retreat into that more archaic phase of Western civilization, out of which they have been escaping, by recourse to so drastic a reaction in their institutions as will offset and dispel the effects wrought by habituation to modern industry and the exact sciences."¹⁵ Second, the old dynastic pattern might be transformed to a Constitutional State characterized by capitalism and "free institutions." In that event the supremacy of business enterprise would itself be only a passing phase, for in an earlier work Veblen had concluded that late-modern capitalism faces a similar dilemma. It can be succeeded either by a reversion to a military, predatory regime or by continued progress toward the supremacy of the machine process and an even greater freedom.¹⁶

At this point two fundamental criticisms are in order. Veblen's "drift toward free institutions" implies a society without institutions. It is his unmistakable teaching that modern technology and science are incompatible not only with the Dynastic State and capitalism, but with all existing institutions in general. The three benevolent Veblenian "instincts" which would emerge as the decisive elements in action after the demise of current predatory institutions are wholly inadequate as substitute institutional struc-

¹⁴ "[The effect of the machine discipline shows itself] on the institutional side in a nearly universal repudiation of all personal discrimination and prerogative, and shows itself on the side of knowledge in an impersonal mechanical conception of things and events. Its practical working out is the machine technology, of which the intellectual counterpart is the exact sciences. . . . Associated with this is the modern drift toward free institutions." *Imperial Germany*, p. 188.

¹⁵ *Imperial Germany*, pp. 236-237.

¹⁶ *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, N.Y., 1904, ch. 10.

tures, despite their implicit normative content.¹⁷ The problem of order in Veblen's future machine age therefore becomes exceedingly acute. On the institutional or integrated value patterns depends the very possibility of social order, organization, and stability. A society without institutions is inconceivable. There is clearly a latent strain of naive philosophical anarchism in Veblen's thought. It crops out again in the section of his work dealing with England.

The second basic criticism concerns Veblen's evolutionary conception of history and his idea of culture lag. In his *Instinct of Workmanship*, he divided Western history into a series of vague cultural stages according to the degree and type of predatory patterns dominating each, and he clearly implied that institutions are not only predatory but obsolete. For example, the modern ideas of property and natural rights are the heritage of the eighteenth-century handicraft era. Military and religious institutions are survivals from still earlier cultural stages, according to Veblen.¹⁸ In this light the present age is witnessing the gradual emancipation of men from predatory institutions through the dissolving effects of the machine process, thus clearing the way for the unhampered sway of men's benevolent instinct, submerged by predation since prehistoric times. Veblen was sufficiently realistic to reserve the possibility of a reversal of this process. No small credit is due him for this, because most of his Anglo-Saxon contemporaries were still under the influence of the optimistic Victori-

¹⁷ The instinct of workmanship seems best interpreted as a combination of two normative elements: high material productivity, and doing a job well for its own sake. The parental bent is a vague humanitarianism. Idle curiosity should be interpreted as knowledge for its own sake. The predatory bent is not an instinct at all, but a phenomenon in the habit category. Veblen used no other instincts in his work. Although he defined them in biological reflexive terms, he obviously never meant them as such. Cf. A. K. Davis, "Sociological Elements in Veblen's Economic Thought."

¹⁸ *Theory of Business Enterprise*, N.Y., 1904, ch. 8-9; *Absentee Ownership*, N.Y., 1923, ch. 2, 3, 7, and *passim*; *Theory of the Leisure Class*, N.Y., 1899, ch. 8-14.

normative content in Veblen's future becomes exceedingly or integrated very possibility and stability. A train of naive in Veblen's thought, of his work

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an theories of linear progress. But he had no real idea of institutional variation and comparison. To Veblen, Germany was a *survival* of an earlier phase of social organization, while England and America represented a later stage in an implicit progress toward Utopia. He could only consider Germany as *backward* instead of merely different.¹⁹ Social scientists today agree that there is no single line of institutional development.

A portion of *Imperial Germany* was devoted to a comparative analysis of England, an example of a constitutional State, wherein capitalism was a dominant institution. Veblen singled out England's relative geographical isolation as the main cause of her modern industrial preeminence. Her island position partially shielded her from the extended exposure to continental feudalism and early-modern dynastic strife experienced by Germany. This is true enough, but the geographic element was in no sense dominant in the development of modern England. It is primarily to the *social factors* that we must look.²⁰ Geography was a highly important conditioning element, but analytically peripheral to the situation.

In England, according to Veblen, business enterprise and the machine technology matured more slowly than in Germany. The net result was a "drift toward free institutions." Veblen did not consider this an unmitigated blessing. Business men focused on profit rather than on maximizing the quantity and quality of goods, and the community's welfare suffered accordingly from high-pressure salesmanship, shoddy goods, en-

forced idleness through capitalistic restriction of output, and failure to keep abreast of technological improvement.²¹ The other prominent development was the appearance of "conspicuous consumption," a standard of living directed, in Veblen's eyes, toward competitive display rather than physical well-being. Its chief manifestations were wasteful expenditure, exemption of the upper classes from industrial labor, an enormous increase in conventional necessities, and a preoccupation with sports.²² Veblen concluded that these conditions reduced England's potential industrial efficiency, whereas in Germany their debilitating effects were minimized by the late development of industry there.

Veblen's analysis of England was much less successful than his work on Germany. Granting the truth of much that he said about England (he could as well have said it of America) he failed to convey the sense of an institutional configuration specifically English. The basic fault lay in his assumption that England is following "the main line of Western development" toward a completely free society, that is, one without institutions. Since the Middle Age, when England and Germany according to Veblen were not greatly different, England has "lost" something,²³ whereas Germany has retained the essence though not the forms of her archaic ways. "This discrepancy will have to be rated on the German side as an arrested spiritual development."²⁴ As for Veblen's ultimately negative picture of England, the answer is that English social organization includes a very definite value pattern, capable of objective analysis as a functioning so-

¹⁹ Veblen's frequent use of such words as *archaic* and *survival* in connection with Germany is clear evidence for this point. See also his *Instinct of Workmanship*, ch. 7, *Absentee Ownership*, part I, and his *Theory of Business Enterprise*, ch. 9-10, for the general relationships of technology and institutions.

²⁰ Two enlightening studies in this field are these: Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London, 1930, and R. K. Merton, *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth-Century England*, Bruges, 1938. There are many others. "Social" here includes all elements of social interaction; economic, political, psychological, and sociological.

²¹ *Imperial Germany*, pp. 122-133.

²² *Imperial Germany*, pp. 136-149. Cf. *Theory of the Leisure Class*, N.Y., 1899.

²³ *Imperial Germany*, pp. 99-103, and ch. 4 *passim*.

²⁴ *Imperial Germany*, p. 94. This and the preceding reference well illustrate Veblen's implicitly negative view of England and his attitude that Germany is backward. To repeat that both propositions are scientifically untenable is to labor the obvious. The point here is that they are the necessary results of his evolutionary premise and his inadequate conception of the analytical elements, particularly the normative elements, in a social system.

cial system, without regard to the problem of its origins or its place in a philosophy of history.

We have seen how Veblen's study of Germany was based on the relationship between the new technology and the old scheme of use and wont. The core of the latter proto-institutional element was denoted by Veblen as the complex of attitudes centering about the Dynastic State, especially the concept of duty. From this combination, he reasoned, arose the truculent militancy of modern Germany, reinforced by certain tendencies in capitalism. The chief formative influences on Germany were set forth by Veblen as feudalism and war.

We have already taken note of some of Veblen's major weaknesses; his sins of commission. Accuracy requires us to state that his omissions were even greater. It is impossible to list here even a small portion of the elements in modern German social structure, much less to reconstruct their complicated interrelationships. Veblen gave insufficient attention to the role of philosophical ideas in formulating Germany's ideologies. He overlooked entirely the role of the Lutheran ethic, shown by Weber and Troeltsch to be highly significant. He could have been more specific on how feudal agrarian paternalism was carried over into industry and the Prussian State. It is unnecessary to extend the criticism further.²⁵

It is relevant to remark briefly on Veblen's ideas about a peace settlement for World War I. The argument of his *Nature of Peace* (1917) was that the sources of wars are institutional. They are the universal habits of mind, patriotism and nationalism; values which are most intensely cultivated in the Dynastic States. Permanent peace may or may not be possible among Constitutional States, whose outlook approaches that of "Live and let live." But it is clearly impossible with Germany and Japan. There,

²⁵ Of course, Veblen did not write down in his book all he knew about Germany. The larger part of what he wrote was essential, though sketchily treated. But he left out much more that was also essential. His major failing was his conceptual scheme, which governed the selection of his material and organized its presentation.

according to Veblen, nationalism has coalesced with feudal loyalty to create an aggressive, even fanatical, solidarity among all classes.

He outlined two alternative methods for the other nations of the world to attain a stable peace. (1) They may submit to Germany. This way entails vassalage and a number of material benefits, but it is blocked by patriotism. (2) They may defeat the aggressors. The peace settlement must then compel the Dynastic peoples to unlearn their warlike habits and their blind allegiance. The greatest obstacle to peace, Veblen never tired of repeating, is the "spiritual animus" of the Dynastic State; not technological or economic factors, but certain ideas held in common, having their greatest development in Germany and Japan. Veblen indicated further that a stable peace, under the second alternative, would also require new ruling classes in Germany and England, and an international league including both victors and vanquished. His final condition of peace was the substitution of production for use in place of the profit system in all capitalistic nations.

The prophetic quality of some of Veblen's observations is absolutely startling. Even before 1917 Veblen was writing that the vindictive peace of reparations and territorial penalties which the Allies would probably impose would leave untouched the real foe, Germany's "spiritual animus." The Reich would be left nursing a patriotic grievance, and vengefully awaiting *der Tag*. He specifically warned that a League which was merely a tool for enforcing such a settlement would eventually collapse. For final evidence of Veblen's brilliant insight, we need only point to his World War I estimate of Japan, then fighting on the Allied side. There was no Axis in 1917. Yet in two short articles posthumously collected in *Essays in Our Changing Order* (N.Y., 1935) and by occasional references in *Imperial Germany* and the *Nature of Peace*, he indicated that his analysis of Germany was essentially applicable to Japan.

In this paper Veblen's comparison of Germany and England and his work on the problem of peace have briefly been sur-

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veyed. The chief contributions of his study have been noted and its principal theoretical and empirical shortcomings have been indicated. The primary theoretical significance is its tendency to transcend Veblen's instinctivist conceptual orientation and to give greater scope to normative institutional elements. It points toward the broader and analytically more refined conceptual scheme which seems to be developing now in sociology.²⁶ On the practical side, Veblen's

* The trend referred to is an amorphous, many-sided one rather than a single coordinated line of development. One may mention among others the

work on Germany, in both its strong and weak points, shows the value of bringing to current social problems the understanding and insight afforded by a systematic scientific analysis of social phenomena.

names of Durkheim, Sorokin, Pareto, Weber, and several English and American anthropologists, such as Malinowski, Firth, and Warner. Parsons' *Structure of Social Action*, N.Y., 1937, traces one aspect of this general evolution of social theory. The work now being done in the border area between sociology and analytic psychology seems highly promising in such writers as Alexander and Fromm. Of course the sharp contrasts within this group preclude any but the most general comparisons.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE AS AN INDEX OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

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THE AVERAGE expectation of life at birth in seven Euro-American countries increased from 41.06 in 1840 to 61.70 in 1930; an increase of 50.3 percent in 90 years. This increase took place in close conformity to a logistic curve. The present paper presents evidence for these facts, and discusses some of their implications in relation to problems of social change.

DOES EXPECTATION OF LIFE REFLECT BASIC VALUES?

Any good index of social progress must fulfill two essential characteristics. First, it must have validity; it must reflect, as comprehensively and unadulteratedly as possible, the degree to which the deepest and most widely shared values of the peoples involved are attained. Second, it must have reliability; it must be capable of being measured accurately and verifiably for the periods of time and the areas for which it is to be used. The present section considers whether expectation of life fulfills the first of these two requirements.

Expectation of life at birth, for a given area and a given time period, states the average length of life which babies born in

that place at that time would live if they continued to reside there and if the death rates at each age in that area remained constant. It thus constitutes a summary of the health conditions in that area, as reflected in the effect of standardized death rates upon length of life, eliminating distorting factors due to variations in the age compositions of populations in the various areas and periods studied.

The desire to keep on living as long as possible, and to have dear ones preserved from death, especially in early life, is almost universal. The longer the expectation of life in a community, the more adequately are these basic desires being fulfilled. Moreover, when expectation of life is high, a number of other widely desired social conditions are more prevalent than when expectation of life is low. First comes health. Low expectation of life is associated with high morbidity rates as well as with high mortality rates. Prevalence of sicknesses that kill means usually that cases of sickness that do not kill are also prevalent. Low death rates mean that hospitals, health departments, doctors, nurses, and medical research agencies are working effectively, and when

these are effective, sickness as well as death is reduced.

Poverty as well as sickness is prevalent in areas and at times when expectation of life is low. It is well established that infant mortality, tuberculosis, and other causes of death and sickness are far more prevalent among populations which are ill-fed, badly housed, poorly clothed, overworked, oppressed and exploited than they are at times and in areas where wages are more adequate and where standards of living are higher.

Government efficiency and honesty are reflected by high expectations of life. Where governments are corrupt, badly organized, and inefficient, the health departments and hospitals are likely to be failing in their tasks, while the water and milk supplies are likely to be contaminated with disease-bearing bacteria. Good health and low death rates reflect also a well educated and well informed public.

In all these basic ways, therefore, high expectation of life reflects widely desired social conditions. High expectation rates reflect good working conditions, long life, relative freedom from bereavement, health, high scales of living, efficient government, and effective education. Low expectation rates reflect early death, widespread bereavement, prevalence of disease, poverty, filth, vermin, political corruption, or inefficiency, and ignorance.

These conclusions are supported by a comparison of the countries with the highest and the lowest expectations of life in recent years, as given in Table 1.

The countries in Table 1 with high expectations of life are more advanced in economic, political and educational prosperity than those with low expectations.

It seems reasonable, then, to conclude that expectation of life at birth does reflect such deep and widely shared human values as to make it a valid index of progress. If this is true, the increase set forth in the opening sentence of this paper shows that the Euro-American peoples progressed during the past century to a major extent in the values thus reflected.

The question at once arises, however, whether expectation of life reflects a *sufficient majority* of the widely shared values to be accepted as a *comprehensive* index of progress. May not other factors in our civilization have been changing so adversely that the net trend has been regressive rather than progressive? The same 90 years which saw an increase of over 50 percent in expectation of life saw also the development of the political, economic, and moral conditions out of which emerged World Wars I and II. The power to destroy human life was increasing with great acceleration, as well as the power to save it. The American divorce rate has been increasing with swift and ac-

TABLE 1. COUNTRIES WITH HIGHEST AND LOWEST EXPECTATIONS OF LIFE AT BIRTH IN 1930
(OR INDICATED YEAR)

Highest		Lowest	
Country	Expectation	Country	Expectation
New Zealand	66.2	Philippines (1918)	25.6
Netherlands	64.5	India (1931)	26.7
Australia	64.3	Egypt (1917-27)	33.5
Norway	63.8	Rural China	34.7
Sweden	63.0	Union of South Africa, Colored (1935-36)	40.5
Denmark	62.2		

Source: Estimated by averaging male and female expectations, and interpolating, when necessary, from data in Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka, *Length of Life* (1936), pp. 48, 362-373; *Population Index*, 9 (July, 1943), pp. 221-223; *Nature*, 145 (1940), pp. 967-968.

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celerating speed. Such considerations as these must be given their due weight as offsets to the progress reflected in expectation of life.

CAN EXPECTATION OF LIFE BE MEASURED RELIABLY?

The second fundamental test of any proposed index of social progress is whether it can be measured accurately, trustworthy, and comprehensively.

only from 1880 to 1930. For six countries data are also available for 1935.

The problem to be considered at this point is the extent to which these returns constitute a reliable index. Expectation of life has been one of the most accurately measured of all social phenomena, especially during the past few decades. Life insurance companies have had vast financial stakes in securing dependable information about the

TABLE 2. MALE EURO-AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS OF LIFE AT BIRTH, 1840 TO 1935

	Country	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1935
1	Denmark	42.6	43.0	43.4	44.5	46.1	47.1	51.4	55.4	59.0	61.3	62.4
2	England & Wales	40.2	40.1	40.6	41.1	42.4	43.9	46.1	51.2	55.2	58.2	59.6
3	France	38.9	39.3	39.1	39.9	41.1	43.3	45.6	48.4	51.7	54.2	—
4	Massachusetts*	37.7	38.3	39.5	40.7	41.8	42.5	45.7	49.3	54.6	59.4	—
5	Netherlands	33.7	35.7	36.9	37.9	40.7	44.5	48.8	53.9	59.0	63.8	65.5
6	Norway	43.0	44.9	47.3	48.0	48.5	49.5	52.4	55.2	59.2	62.2	—
7	Sweden	41.4	41.0	41.1	43.9	46.8	49.6	52.6	55.7	59.5	62.0	64.0
8	7-country average	39.64	40.33	41.13	42.28	43.91	45.77	48.94	52.73	56.88	60.30	—
9	Australia	—	—	—	—	45.3	48.9	52.9	56.3	58.9	62.4	—
10	Finland	—	—	—	—	38.2	41.2	44.0	46.5	49.2	52.7	54.9
11	Germany	—	—	—	—	36.3	38.7	42.5	47.2	53.0	58.4	—
12	Italy	—	—	—	—	34.3	39.8	42.7	46.1	48.9	53.3	—
13	Scotland	—	—	—	—	42.3	44.3	46.2	49.7	52.8	55.7	—
14	Switzerland	—	—	—	—	41.4	44.6	47.5	50.6	54.8	58.6	60.7
15	13-country average	—	—	—	—	41.94	44.45	47.57	51.19	55.06	58.71	—
16	Aver. of countries having 1935 data	—	—	—	—	42.60	45.15	48.40	52.22	56.12	59.43	61.18

* Total population.

Source: *Length of Life*, by Louis J. Dublin and Alfred Lotka, 1936, pp. 48, 362-373; *Population Index*, Vol. 9 (July, 1943), pp. 221-223. Only rarely do these sources give expectations of life for the exact years shown in the table. The reports of the various countries are for diverse periods. It was necessary, therefore, to interpolate between the mid-dates of the various periods shown.

The best available data summarizing trends in expectation of life are presented in Tables 2 and 3. It will be noted that returns from 12 European countries, and for the state of Massachusetts are shown. The 13 countries involved include four English-speaking, four Scandinavian, and five other European.

For seven of these countries, Denmark, England and Wales, France, Massachusetts, Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden, data are available from 1840 to 1930 inclusive. For the other six countries returns are shown

risks they assume. Government bureaus have recognized the importance of securing accurate specific death rates, and have devoted large resources to the gathering of reliable, standardized data. Intricate mathematical studies have been made, indicating methods of testing the reliability of expectations of life.¹ In the present article, however, we

¹ E.g. "The Standard Deviation of Sampling for Life Expectancy," by Edwin B. Wilson, *American Statistical Association Journal*, Vol. 33 (1938), pp. 705-708.

Expectation
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26.7
33.5
34.7
40.5

shall define reliability operationally as that characteristic of an index which is measured by its correlation with an index made up of an infinite number of elements derived independently by methods and under conditions essentially identical with those used in obtaining the index in question, as calculated from "chance-half" correlation by means of the Spearman-Brown formula.²

For the chance-half correlation required in

plying the Spearman-Brown formula, it is found that the correlation between the series of life expectations of both sexes combined and a perfect theoretical series derived by combining an infinite number of such indexes is .99968. This means that the seven-country series for both sexes combined accounts for 99.94 percent of all variance from a theoretically perfect index of life expectancy in such countries. In other words,

TABLE 3. FEMALE EURO-AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS OF LIFE AT BIRTH, 1840 TO 1935, WITH SUMMARIES OF MALE AND FEMALE RATES AVERAGED

	Country	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1935
1	Denmark	44.7	45.0	45.4	46.4	48.1	49.4	54.6	58.4	61.2	63.1	64.3
2	England & Wales	42.2	42.2	43.2	44.1	45.8	47.4	49.8	54.8	59.2	62.3	63.8
3	France	40.9	40.8	40.6	41.8	43.7	46.3	49.0	52.2	55.4	58.8	—
4	Massachusetts*	39.8	40.5	41.5	42.5	43.5	44.5	48.8	53.1	58.1	63.3	—
5	Netherlands	37.2	38.0	38.7	40.0	43.1	47.2	51.4	56.0	60.9	65.2	66.7
6	Norway	46.6	47.9	49.8	50.8	51.3	52.5	55.7	59.2	62.0	65.0	—
7	Sweden	46.0	45.1	44.8	47.4	49.9	52.4	55.1	58.3	61.8	64.1	66.1
8	7-country average	42.48	42.78	43.43	44.71	46.48	48.53	52.06	56.00	59.80	63.11	—
9	Australia	—	—	—	—	48.7	52.6	56.6	60.1	63.0	66.2	—
10	Finland	—	—	—	—	41.3	44.1	46.7	49.7	53.2	57.3	59.6
11	Germany	—	—	—	—	39.3	41.9	45.9	50.4	56.1	61.3	—
12	Italy	—	—	—	—	34.9	40.1	43.0	46.9	50.3	55.4	—
13	Scotland	—	—	—	—	44.9	46.8	49.1	52.8	56.0	59.2	—
14	Switzerland	—	—	—	—	44.0	47.2	50.3	53.7	57.1	62.1	64.6
15	13-country average	—	—	—	—	44.50	47.11	50.46	54.28	58.02	61.79	—
16	Aver. of countries having 1935 data	—	—	—	—	45.37	47.95	51.32	55.15	58.90	62.35	64.18
17	Both sexes, averaged 7-country average	41.06	41.56	42.28	43.50	45.20	47.15	50.50	54.36	58.34	61.70	—
18	13-country average	—	—	—	—	43.22	45.78	49.01	52.73	56.54	60.25	—
19	"1935" group average	—	—	—	—	43.98	46.55	49.86	53.68	57.51	60.89	62.68

* Total population.

Source: Same as for table 2.

this method we may utilize the correlation between the expectations of life for males and for females. For the seven countries with data from 1840 to 1930, this correlation, corrected for size of sample and for degrees of freedom sacrificed, is .99872. Ap-

² For discussion of reliability, see *Statistics for Sociologists*, by Margaret Jarman Hagood, 1941, p. 220; for the Spearman-Brown formula see *Studies in the History of Statistical Method*, by Helen Walker, 1929, p. 117.

this seven-country index has a practically perfect reliability, for the period and the countries involved. It is clear that, for at least the past century and a quarter, and in at least the Euro-American culture area, expectation of life can be measured accurately and verifiably enough to make it a reliable index of progress in the conditions which it reflects.

LOGISTIC TRENDS OF LIFE EXPECTATIONS
Figure 1 shows the trend of expectations

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SUMMARIES

	1930	1935
1	63.1	64.3
2	62.3	63.8
3	58.8	—
4	63.3	—
5	65.2	66.7
6	65.0	—
7	64.1	66.1
8	63.11	—
9	66.2	—
10	57.3	59.6
11	61.3	—
12	55.4	—
13	59.2	—
14	62.1	64.6
15	61.79	—
16	62.35	64.18
17	61.70	—
18	60.25	—
19	60.89	62.68

of life at birth, for seven countries belonging to the Euro-American culture area, from 1840 to 1930, with extrapolations back to 1820 and forward to 1960. The simple averages of male and female expectations, at ten-year intervals, as shown in line 17 of

$$E_t = 40.45 + \frac{28.92}{1 + 10^{\frac{0.225(1911-d_t)}{10}}}$$
 (1)

where E_t represents the average expectation of life at birth for the seven countries as calculated by the formula, and d_t represents

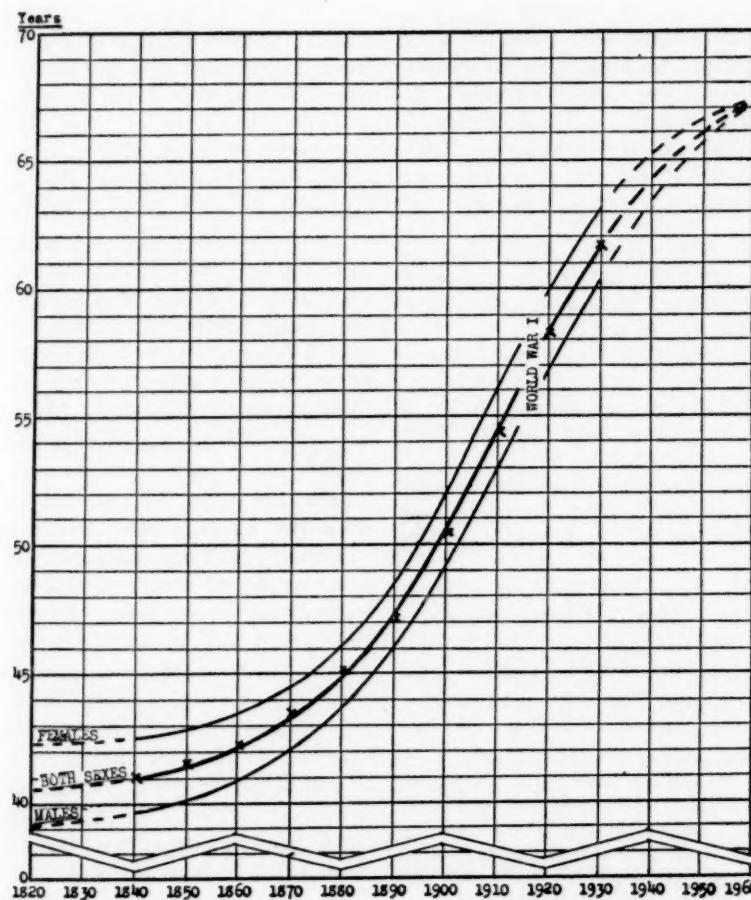


FIGURE 1. Average Expectations of Life at Birth in Seven Euro-American Countries, 1840-1930 (Decennial Data for Both Sexes Represented by X's) with Logistic Curves Fitted, 1820-1960, for Males, for Females, and for Both Sexes Averaged.

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Table 3, are indicated in figure 1 by x's. The outside curves represent logistic trend lines for males and for females separately, fitted to the data shown in line 8 of Tables 2 and 3. The central curve represents the logistic trend of the combined male and female figures for each date. The formula for the combined trend is as follows:

any assigned date, during the period for which the formula is valid.³

³ The generalized form of the logistic formula, as used in this study is as follows:

$$Y_t = k_1 + \frac{k_2}{1 + 10^{\frac{r(d_t - d_0)}{10}}}$$
 (2)

where Y_t is the value to be calculated on the curve,

In addition to formula (1) logistic curves have been fitted to the data of line 8 in table 2 and of lines 8, 18, and 19 of table 3. Constants for these curves will be found in Table 4. This includes the male and female curves of Figure 1. Formulas for any of the curves represented in Table 4 can be written out by substituting in formula (2) the values shown in the proper line and columns of the table. Indeed, formula (1) corresponds with line 2 of Table 4, and formula (5) corresponds with line 8.

In considering the significance of these logistic trends it will be well first to set up and test the following null hypotheses:

1. That expectations of life, in the countries studied, have not fluctuated during the years 1840 to 1930 in a random manner, and without any real trend either up or down.
2. That these expectations have not followed a straight-line upward trend, involving some constant arithmetical rate of increase, and that fluctuations from such a trend have not been merely random in character.
3. That these expectations have not followed a cumulative normal-frequency trend, from which any deviations have been merely random in character.
4. That these expectations have not followed a Gompertz trend, from which any deviations have been random in character.

The first of the foregoing hypotheses may be tested as follows. The coefficient of cur-

vilinear correlation around the logistic curve represented by formula (1) is .99972. The value of t , for a correlation of this size, based on 10 pairs of items, and sacrificing four degrees of freedom, is 104.1. For this type of case, at value of 3.707 indicates a probability of only .01 that the correlation was due to chance. Since the t actually found is over 28 times as large as the largest value given in Croxton and Cowden's table, we may safely assume that the chance of hypothesis 1 being correct is infinitesimal. This first null hypothesis may be dismissed also in the case of each of the other expectation-of-life logistics represented in Table 4.

The second hypothesis is absurd insofar as it implies that the long-time trend of expectations of life has been linear. A straight-line trend fitted to the data of Figure 1 would indicate a zero expectation of life for about the year 1700, and negative expectations for all previous dates. Since this would be impossible, the long-run interpretation of hypothesis 2 may be dismissed. But even within the span of years covered by the data the fit of a straight-line trend is so obviously poor as compared to the three other types of trend considered that it is unnecessary to carry out the statistical calculations which would prove the point.

The third hypothesis offers the supposition that, while expectations of life have followed an S-shaped curve, showing an accelerating increase which later slowed down, the true shape of that curve is a cumulative normal-frequency ogive rather than a logistic curve. In testing this hypothesis such curves have been fitted to both the male and the female data. The same upper and lower limits of growth zones, and the same dates of inflection have been assumed for the ogives as for the logistic curves in each case. This determines three of the four constants of the ogive. The fourth is the standard deviation in the time dimension. For the male expectations, the best fit is secured with a standard deviation of 35.63 years. The corrected coefficient of curvilinear correlation around this curve is .99738. The corrected coefficient of non-determination is .00524. For females the closest fit is with a standard

k_1 is the lower limit of the growth zone, k_2 is the width of the growth zone, g is the growth logarithm, d_1 is the date of inflection, and d_a is any assigned date during the period for which the formula is valid. This formula is the same in principle as the one used by Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden, *Applied General Statistics*, 1940, p. 457. The following simplifications in form have been made: 10 is substituted as the base for the logarithm instead of e ; the date of origin is taken at the date of inflection, so that $a = 0$; and instead of x , its equivalent $(d_1 - d_a)$, is substituted. These simplifications are not wholly unprecedented. Alfred J. Lotka, *Elements of Physical Biology*, 1925 p. 360, simplified the usual formula by substituting the date of inflection for the date of origin. Simon S. Kuznets, *Secular Movements in Production and Prices*, 1930, in his logistic formulas, used 10 instead of e as the logarithmic base. The form used in the present article simply combines these improvements, and incorporates the date of origin into the formula instead of stating it separately.

TABLE 4. CONSTANTS OF LOGISTIC CURVES FITTED TO EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH AND RELATED DATA

Sources: Lines 1 to 7 derived from data shown in tables 2 and 3; line 8, table 5; lines 9 to 12 derived from data in *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, by Pitirim Soronkin,

Vol. II, pp. 134, 164, 169; *Statistical Abstract for the United States*, 1919, p. 100. * Omitting data for years of World War I.

onizing data for years of world war 1. t is the coefficient of curvilinear correlation, corrected for size of sample and for degrees of freedom. $[1 - (t^2)]$ is sometimes called the "coefficient of non-determination" (see Croxton and Cowden, *op. cit.*, p. 663; footnote 7). It also is here corrected for size of sample and degrees of freedom. These numbers in the final column represent the proportions of the total variances not explained by the trends fitted. These coefficients are given because they are directly proportional to the nonexistence of fit of each curve. For example, the logistic trend of line 8 fits the real-wage data .0405/.0007, or about 58 times as poorly as the trend t fits it.

For line 6, $\bar{\rho} = .9999988$, and $1 - (\bar{\rho})^2 = .0000225$,
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deviation of 28.30 years. For the female ogive the corrected coefficient of curvilinear correlation is .99888; the non-determination is .00224.

By comparing the foregoing coefficients of non-determination with those given for the logistic curves, in table 4, it will be seen that the ogive gives .0052/.0014, or about four times as loose a fit as the logistic for males, and .0022/.0010, or about twice as loose a fit as the logistic for females. This, however, is inconclusive. The precise method of testing hypothesis 2 is by means of the Z transformation. By this method it is found that, as a result of mere random variation, the male logistic would fit this much better than the male ogive in about .1525 of such investigations, while the female logistic would fit better than the female ogive by chance in about .2588 of the investigations. Taking either the males or the females alone, therefore, the superiority of the logistic curve over the ogive would have to be regarded as not proven. However, the male and female expectations constitute independent samplings. The probability that two independent samples will vary in a given direction is equal to the product of the separate probabilities of their varying in that direction. The probability that both the male and the female logistics would fit this much better than the respective ogives is therefore .1525 x .2588, or .0395. This is clearly significant if the .05 criterion is used, but is indecisive if one takes the .01 level of significance. Until sufficient contrary evidence is offered to shift the burden of proof, it seems safe to dismiss hypothesis 2, and to proceed on the assumption that logistic curves do fit the trend of expectation-of-life data better than do cumulative-normal-frequency ogives.

Hypothesis 3 suggests the Gompertz curve as a possibly preferable expression of expectation-of-life trends. For male expectations in the seven countries with data from 1840 to 1930, the closest fitting Gompertz curve is represented by equation (3):

$$\log E_{7m} = 2.77679 - 2.61158 (.92674)^{(d_a/10-180)} \quad (3)$$

where E_{7m} represents the calculated expecta-

tion of life for males in the seven countries, and $d_a/10$ is any assigned date (in decades) during the period for which the formula is valid. For females the Gompertz curve is represented by equation (4):

$$\log E_{7f} = 1.80684 - 2.08968 (.83019)^{(d_a/10-180)} \quad (4)$$

The corrected coefficients of curvilinear correlation around these curves are .99637 for males and .99847 for females, and the respective corrected coefficients of non-determination are .00725 and .00306. The looseness of fit of the male Gompertz is thus approximately five times as great as that of the male logistic, while the looseness of fit of the female Gompertz is about three times as great as that of the female logistic. Applying the Z transformation it is found that this amount of superiority of the logistic over the Gompertz in fit would occur by chance in about .1001 of investigations for males, in about .1851 of those for females, and in about .0185 of those for both sexes. This probability is so low that we may dismiss with considerable confidence the hypothesis that the true trend of expectations of life is represented better by a Gompertz than by a logistic curve.

While the superiority of the logistic over the ogive and the Gompertz curves is not conclusively proven, it is safest to regard the logistic curve as the best description until sufficient contrary evidence is offered to shift the burden of proof.

Having thus dealt with the four hypotheses set up at the beginning of this section, we arrive at the conclusion that expectations of life in the seven Euro-American countries have actually, from 1840 to 1930, followed a logistic trend with such accuracy that the closeness of fit cannot reasonably be regarded as accidental.

The foregoing analysis applies to the progress in life extension during the period 1840-1930. For the period of 1880-1930, when data for six additional countries are available (see table 4, line 6, and footnote) the fit of the logistic curve is even closer. The Z transformation indicates a probability of .9474 that this improvement is not due to chance. This strengthens further the pre-

seven countries, date (in decades) with the formula is Gompertz curve is

3019) $(d_g/10-18)$ (4)

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But, while there is presumptive evidence that this type of curve is superior, for this purpose, to any other type which has been tested, it must be recognized that sometimes various logistics, differing widely in certain

HOW HAS THE TREND OF REAL WAGES COMPARED WITH THAT OF EXPECTATION OF LIFE?

Expectations of life reflect, indirectly, among other things, the general levels of economic welfare in the areas involved. A more direct index of economic welfare is

TABLE 5. REAL-WAGE INDEXES (1914 = 100) IN GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1799 TO 1909 AND IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1829 TO 1929, WITH LOGISTIC TREND VALUES, FITTED ACCORDING TO FORMULA (5) FROM 1799 TO 1949

Dates	Indexes of Real Wages		Logistic Trend Values	Deviation (d) of Indexes from Trend				
	Great Britain	United States		Great Br.		U. S.		
				d	d^2	d	d^2	
1799	37	—	40	-3	9			
1809	41	—	41	0	0			
1819	41	—	42	-1	1			
1829	47	46	43	4	16	3	9	
1839	47	48	46	1	1	2	4	
1849	49	56	50	-1	1	6	36	
1859	58	52	57	1	1	-5	25	
1869	63	53	65	-2	4	-12	144	
1879	74	77	75	-1	1	2	4	
1889	84	85	86	-2	4	-1	1	
1899	98	106	96	2	4	10	100	
1909	102	104	104	-2	4	0	0	
1919	—	100	110			-10	100	
1929	—	120	114			6	36	
1939	—	—	116					
1949	—	—	118					
Totals				-4	46	1	459	
Averages				-3.33	3.83	.09	41.73	

Source: Hornell Hart, *Technique of Social Progress*, 1929, p. 139.

of their constants, may be fitted to the same data. In table 4 lines 1 and 2 represent two logistic curves, whose coefficients of non-determination (looseness of fit) do not differ significantly. But the date of inflection of the first curve is 1915, while that of the second curve is 1911. Even more important, the first curve predicts an upper limit of 72.06 years, while the second curve predicts 69.37—a difference of 2.69 years. Such facts suggest that small differences in data (especially in cases where the cycle is not near to completion) may produce large changes in some of the constants of logistic curves.

available in indexes of real wages in Great Britain and the United States. Without attempting a fresh comprehensive study of the subject, the writer has fitted a logistic curve to data published in 1931.⁴ The index numbers, for the years 1799 to 1929, are given in Table 5 together with calculated trend values. The formula for the trend is as follows:

$$W_{GBUS} = 39.0 + \frac{81.5}{1 + 10^{0.0281(1858 - d_g)}} \quad (5)$$

⁴ *The Technique of Social Progress*, by Hornell Hart, 1931, p. 139.

Where W_{GBUS} represents the index of real wages ($1914 = 100$) for Great Britain and the United States, as calculated by the formula, and d_a represents any assigned date, during the period for which the formula is valid. Figure 2 presents the data of Table 5 graphically.

The corrected looseness of fit of the real-wage curve (see line 8 in Table 4) is about 50 times as great as that of the curve represented by line 2. The wage curve has much

11 times as great as that for the British data. If only the British data are considered, $\rho = .9944$. If indexes of real wages were available for all 13 countries it seems likely that the averages might fit a logistic curve about as closely as the expectation-of-life data do.

THE UPSURGE IN SCIENCE

The logistic increase in Euro-American expectations of life clearly represents a per-

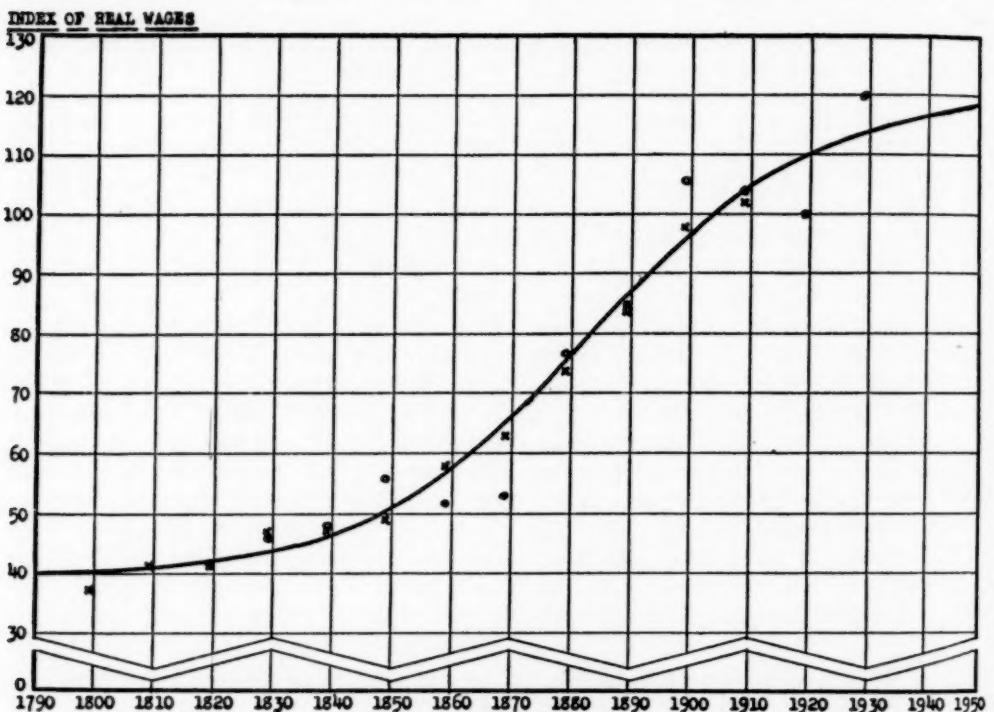


FIGURE 2. Index Numbers of Real Wages of Factory Employees ($1914 = 100$) in Great Britain and the United States, 1790-1920, with Logistic Curve Fitted, 1790-1950.

the loosest fit of any curve represented in Table 4. Yet the corrected coefficient of curvilinear correlation (ρ) for this wage curve is .9754, and the t-test shows that the probability of this relationship being due to random fluctuations is practically infinitesimal. Moreover it will be noted that the British data (represented by x's in the chart) fit more closely to the curve than the data for the United States (represented by o's). Table 5 shows that the average variance for the United States data is about

sistently consistent development. However we may account for it, here is a movement which has developed with mathematical consistency over a period of at least 90 years. To a lower degree of reliability in our available measurements, the logistic rise in real wages in Great Britain and the United States has been an integral development. If the processes of social change are to be understood it is necessary to discover more about the underlying causes of such persistently consistent movements as these.

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Figure 3 presents some data about logistic uprushes which preceded, and which seem to have been causally related to, the gain in expectation of life. Every logistic curve rises from a lower limit (k_1) and approaches an upper limit ($k_1 + k_2$). In Figure 3 all the lower limits are made equal to zero, and the upper to 100 percent, so that the various curves may be compared. The right-hand curve (VI) in the series is the logistic trend in expectation of life, reduced to a percentage

The corresponding British curve (III) for the period 1821 to 1938, has originally a lower limit of 130 per year and an upper limit of 18,630 per year. This British cycle, however, was preceded by an earlier period of logistic growth, from 1751 to 1820 (I). This trend has a lower limit of zero and an upper limit of 130 per year. Intermediate between the two British patent curves is the more gradual rise of major inventions and discoveries in the Western World (II). The

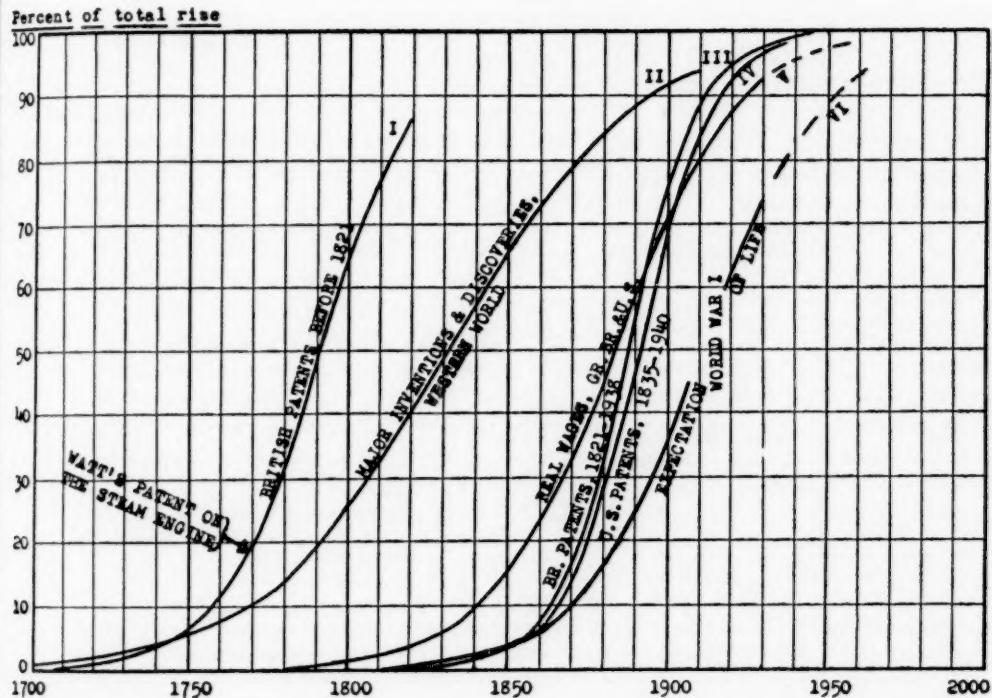


FIGURE 3. Percentage Logistic Curves, Showing Comparative Trends of Growth in Euro-American Expectation of Life and in Related British and American Indexes.

basis. Closely paralleling this curve, about 30 years earlier, is the trend of real wages (V).

All the rest of the curves relate to patents, inventions, and discoveries. The two curves which are so close together (III and IV) between the wage curve and the expectation of life curve, are the logistic trends of patents in Great Britain and in the United States. The original curve of patents for the United States (IV) has a lower limit of zero and an upper limit of 44,000 per year.

constants of the formulas for these curves are given in Table 4.

The meaning of this series of logistic curves seems to be that all of these increases are aspects of the logistic growth of applied science in the Western World. Watt's first patent on his steam engine was granted in 1769. This must be regarded, however, as only an incident in the developing epoch in which basic machinery was invented and introduced for generating power and applying it to industrial and agricultural produc-

tion and to transportation—the epoch usually called the industrial revolution. About 75 years after the development to which Watt's patent belongs, the curve of real wages developed its nearly parallel rise.

In between the earlier and the later upsurges in British patents, there seems to have occurred a similar rise in biological and medical discoveries. Jenner's discovery

as the result of the application of science to the collective problems of making a living, which was reflected in logistic increases in patents. Jenner's and Pasteur's work may be regarded as aspects of a much more comprehensive movement: the practical application of science to health. Increasing applications of science have affected expectations of life directly, through the results of medical

TABLE 6. ESTIMATES OF ANCIENT AND PREHISTORIC EXPECTATIONS OF LIFE AT BIRTH IN COMPARISON WITH MODERN DATA, FOR CITIES, AND FOR GENERAL POPULATIONS

Date	Urban		General	
	Area	Expectation	Area	Expectation
1940	New York City (whites)	64.6 ¹	7 Euro-American countries	61.7 ⁴
1930	U.S.A. (urban whites)	58.9		
1920-22	London	56.5		
1910	U.S.A. (urban whites)	49.3	7 Euro-American countries	54.4 ⁴
1901	U.S.A. (urban whites)	45.9		
1881-1890	London	42.3		
1841-1850	London	36.5		
1840	—	—	7 Euro-American countries	41.1 ⁴
1750	Geneva, Switzerland	33.6 ²		
1689	Breslau, Germany	33.5		
1650	Geneva, Switzerland	25.7 ²		
1550	Geneva, Switzerland	21.2 ²		
c300	Rome	21.5 ³	Egypt	47.0 ³
c300	—	—	Hyspania and Lusitania	37.0 ³
c10,000 B.C.	—	—	Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic	23.0 ⁶
c50,000 B.C.	—	—	Lower Paleolithic	21.0 ⁶

Source: All items taken from Dublin and Lotka, *op. cit.*, except those referred to in the following footnotes.

¹ *Quarterly Bulletin*, City of New York Department of Health, Vol. XI (October, 1943), p. 36.

² Irving Fisher, *National Vitality*, Senate Document No. 419, 61st Congress, 2d Session, 1910, p. 639.

³ W. R. Macdonnell, "Expectation of Life in Ancient Rome . . .," *Biometrika*, Vol. 9 (1913), pp. 366-377.

⁴ Table 3.

⁵ Estimated from data derived by Henry H. Vallors, from 187 skeletons, *Scientific American*, Vol. 159 (Sept., 1938), pp. 141-2; same *Nature*, Vol. 141 (Feb. 12, 1938), p. 292.

Where rates for both sexes combined are not available, rates for males and for females have been averaged.

of vaccination was first made public in 1798. The cell theory of body structure was developed about 1838. Pasteur's discoveries relating to the germ theory of disease began to be made public in 1857. The curve of expectation of life had risen one percent of its total predicted logistic rise by 1820, which was 22 years after Jenner's discovery was published, and 37 years before Pasteur's work began to bear fruit.

The industrial revolution may be regarded

research, and also indirectly, through increased standards of living, which have helped to eliminate diseases due to inadequate food and other aspects of poverty.⁵

EXPECTATIONS OF LIFE BEFORE 1820

Earlier sections of this paper have shown an increase in Euro-American expectation of

⁶ Cf. *Population Problems*, by Warren S. Thompson, 1942, pp. 80-81.

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	54.4 ⁴
	41.1 ⁴
	47.0 ⁵
	37.0 ⁵
	23.0 ⁶
	21.0 ⁶

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life of 20.64 years, or 50.3 percent, between 1840 and 1930. But what of the trends before the dawn of modern vital statistics?

The nearest approaches to reliable data for earlier periods seem to be those shown in Table 6.

Recognizing the fact that the data cited in Table 6 are relatively untrustworthy as compared with modern information about expectations of life, it is possible to point out tentatively certain general conclusions. First, the trend of urban expectation of life has been much more steeply upward than that of rural areas. Second, judging from data on London, the urban expectation was increasing relatively slowly before 1870, just as was the general expectation. Third, the data from Geneva, Switzerland, suggest a previous logistic increase in urban expectation, beginning probably about the time of the opening up of the New World. Third, if the expectations derived from prehistoric skeletons and from ancient tombstones are even approximately correct, expectation of life has increased as much since 1800 as it did during the entire preceding 50,000 years.

In general, it seems probable that progress in urban expectation of life has been going on for the past 400 years. The evidence becomes less and less reliable the farther back one goes in time, but such fragments of data as have been published by scientists point toward accelerating progress in general health conditions during the past 50,000 years rather than toward deterioration or stagnation.

FUTURE TRENDS OF LIFE EXPECTATIONS

If the trends indicated by lines 1 to 7 in table 4 were to continue indefinitely the upper limit for the average expectation of life at birth in these Euro-American countries would be between 69.14 and 72.28 years. This corresponds reasonably closely with the predictions which Dr. Louis I. Dublin has been making. In 1924 he estimated the limit at 65 years, in 1941 he put it at 71 years.⁶

⁶Statistical Bulletin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., November, 1941, p. 3.

To accept 70 to 75 years as an ultimate limit, however, would be to assume that the span of human life has an inherent maximum which it is impossible for science to transcend. Over and over again such limits have been asserted (in relation to the speeds of land vehicles and of air vehicles, the ranges of airplanes, the magnifying power of microscopes, and so on) only to have the allegedly impenetrable ceilings penetrated. The upper limits established by logistic trends are valid only until some new development bursts through them in a fresh, and usually a more rapid logistic rise. If and when cancer is conquered, if and when the reasons are discovered for aging in organisms made up of cells which under favorable conditions remain immortally young, if and when new basic discoveries like these are made, we may expect new and even more sweeping upsurges in life expectancy.

PROBABLE EFFECTS OF THE WAR

If the reader will examine Figure 1 he will find that World War I seems to have had no effect whatever on the Euro-American expectation of life. The data on which tables 2 and 3 are based omitted the years of World War I in all the countries. Most of the thirteen countries failed to report expectations of life for periods involving the war years. Where such reports are available they have been omitted. The casualties of that war, plus those of the influenza epidemic, certainly produced major declines in real expectations of life in 1914 to 1918. But if the war had produced lasting effects on expectations of life the character of the curve should have been different from 1920 to 1930 from what it was up to 1910. No such change is evident.

At the present time death rates in Great Britain are low, but rates are high and rising in the belligerent and occupied countries of Europe. In the United States the death rates of 1943 and 1944 indicate a temporary relapse in expectation of life in our country. The war shortage of doctors and nurses may well be a major factor here.

THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF THE DETROIT MEXICAN FAMILY: AN INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

NORMAN DAYMOND HUMPHREY
Wayne University

THE PEASANT FAMILY in Mexico often has been characterized as "patriarchal." The roles of members are rather strictly defined by the pervasive folk culture. The father occupies a position in which he exercises considerable authority over his wife and children, and some of this power is extended to his grown sons who function partly to control their sisters' activities.¹ The concepts of acceptable family behavior are at first retained when Mexican migrants settle in Detroit. There, however, like those of other immigrants, these concepts and the behavior correlative to them undergo transformation. It is the contention of this paper that the changes in the structure of the family, under the impact of a new social and cultural environment, constitute a highly sensitized index of the process of acculturation.²

The family is a *social structure*. A social structure is regarded here as a system of culturally defined status roles which form a relatively stable nexus of subordinate and superordinate selves. The significance of the social structure is the point of juncture of society and culture, and changes in the structure will index what happens in the merging of cultures. However, adjustments of social structures to changes in the total culture do not occur automatically. When there is agreement as to the definitions of status roles in a culture a social structure is stable, since duties and obligations accord with the roles which individuals must act out. New conceptions of self arise as the individual takes on new duties and obligations under the new cultural pressures. These new selves do not fit the old roles and immedi-

ately the stability of the social structure is threatened; eventually the structure changes. This is true for any structure. But since we regard the family as the one in which the self-conceptions of those who occupy roles are most intimately related to one another, we believe it will reflect most truly the changing meanings generated by the larger culture. All immigrant families obviously do not undergo simultaneous and equivalent changes. The roles portrayed, although empirically determined, will be synthesized into idealized types. Each of the several roles in the family will now be examined, at first, separately, later in combination.

The role of the father and head of the family has two major aspects: food provider, and family judge and protector.

The vicissitudes of employment, the seasonal character of work, and the long periods of unemployment, all have affected the status and role of the breadwinner, both in his own eyes and in those of other members of his family. Ill at ease when out of work, cognizant of violating a major obligation as head of the family, yet concerned with maintaining the respect from his wife and children which he considered his right, he might desert them to seek work and thus to re-establish his position. "Now I ask you," one breadwinner wrote his case worker, "for a chance to look for work in another place like I used to and as soon as I find one [a job] I will let you know as soon as possible." Refused by his case worker, he deserted, returned briefly to his family, and then left permanently for Mexico, leaving his family behind. More temporary desertions often followed flare-ups engendered by the husband's lack of employment and his accompanying loss of status in the home. This is indicated by an excerpt from a public welfare case record.

¹ Norman D. Humphrey, "The Generic Folk Culture of Mexico," *Rural Sociology*, 8:364-377, December, 1943.

² Norman D. Humphrey, "On Assimilation and Acculturation," *Psychiatry*, 6:343-45.

Mr. V explained to the worker that he had not deliberately deserted his family. He had gotten "mad," he said, because he wasn't working. He thought it was better to try to earn a little money on a sugar beet farm than to stay at home and do nothing.

The loss of status attendant on lack of financial support was further accentuated if the family head demanded complete subordination from his wife and grown sons. This is illustrated by Mr. P.

Mr. P admitted that on several occasions he struck his wife, but felt himself quite justified in having done so. His wife, he said, was continually accusing him of taking small sums of money which she had hidden in the house. It was beneath him, he said, to take money which did not belong to him, and when he was accused of such behavior he was enraged to the point where he struck his wife. He said that all women are fools and that he would like to be arrested so as to show the people in the United States how to treat women.

In general, however, the decline in status of the father, due to his failure to provide adequately for the family, was so gradual, both in the eyes of the wife and the children, that a lessening of respect was not accompanied by overt family conflict. The extent to which the father has continued to command respect is largely determined by the degree of assimilation of the non-patriarchal American culture by the wife and children.

A second facet of the father's role which has undergone change in Detroit is that concerned with the exercise of moral protection over the wife and female children. The protection of girls is a function the father shares with his wife,³ but he alone must see that no conceivable advances are made toward his mate. No man can talk to another's wife in what passes for a suspicious manner without invoking wrath on the part of her husband. This is seen in the case of Mrs. G.

Mr. S called Mrs. T a bad name because Mrs. T had taken Mrs. S to a theater one afternoon. Mr. S said that he did not approve of his wife going to a show either by herself or with another woman.

Girls must be vigilantly protected from situations which would allow personal contact with men.

Joseph, a widower, and his sister Mary, a deserted woman, kept house together. Joseph brought home a friend, but the friend acted toward his sister in such a way as to displease Joseph, and he ordered the erstwhile friend from his home. Joseph said that he believed his sister better off with no friends than with "any kind of people."

Women, in general, are not in a position to oppose the exercise of these protection

taken to Receiving Hospital where she was later released to her mother. She refused to swear out a warrant against Mr. G. Mr. G does not drink. He was reported to have become angered when his son Harold, aged four, told "lies" about the relation between Mrs. G and the boarder, which tales he preferred to believe to those of Mrs. G.

Protection of the wife extended into the area of pregnancy and childbirth.

Mr. M refused to go to his W.P.A. job during the period immediately preceding his wife's labor, for, as he insisted, he had to "watch his wife." He did this despite the fact that his landlady volunteered to call the ambulance to take her to Herman Kiefer Hospital as soon as the child was coming.

The protective function was invoked to prevent a wife from in anyway "Americanizing" herself or her home.

Mr. P complained to the worker that Mrs. P wished to Americanize their home and to disregard all of the customs of the old country that they had been used to. Mrs. P in turn said that Mr. P was so concerned with protecting herself and the girl children that he did such absurd things as to hide behind cars in the vicinity of the children's school to see if they spoke or walked home with any of the boys in their classes.

Such protection even extended to a husband quarreling with a woman who unwittingly aided in Americanizing his wife.

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³ M. S. Handman, "The Mexican Immigrant in Texas," *National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings*, 1925, p. 332.

compulsions and are thereby bound to accept them.

The affectional role of the father toward his offspring contrasts with their unwillingness to accept his authority and protection. Mexican fathers show a genuine concern for their own children, and they easily extend this love to foster children.

When Marie's real father came and took her from Mr. O he was sincerely disappointed, for Mr. O wished always to keep the little girl.

No distinct pattern is evident in a man's treatment of his wife's illegitimate children⁴ for, while in some cases, they are readily accepted by the husband, in others they are not,⁵ and in some instances are raised by the grandparents.⁶ The duty to care for aged relatives, so strong in Mexico, in some cases is maintained⁷ and in some cases breaks down in Detroit.⁸ When it breaks down, it is largely a consequence of the wage system in the urban environment which precludes carrying such burdens.

The role of father is given a culturally sanctioned extension in the form of the *compadre* or godparent. This role involves duties and obligations of the same general

⁴ Mr. R refused to accept responsibility for the children by his wife's previous illicit union saying that they were not his and he was interested only in his own welfare.

⁵ Mrs. S's daughter, who had previously lived with a Mr. F bore a child later by him. In 1927 she married one Felix A, who refused to support her child by the previous union, the child therefore going to live with his grandmother.

⁶ Marie had lived with one Tiafalo A, who was deported for illegal entry in 1931. One child by this union, Antolena, the granddaughter of Thomas and Blosa M, lived with her grandparents. At seven Antolena stated that she would prefer to live with her grandparents.

⁷ Mr. D and his family came to Detroit in 1927 and first applied for relief on December 22, 1930. Mr. D, born in Monterrey, had lived in the United States since he was a boy, and grew up in the vicinity of Brownsville, Texas. From the time his father died in 1917, he has supported his aged mother, who lives with the family.

⁸ Maria began to live with one Jose M, by whom she had several children. For a time the son-in-law, Jose, lived with the elder M family helping to support them by paying rent. Jose M finally refused to continue to support the elder M's. He moved into another house with his wife and own children.

sort as does the real parental relationship.⁹ The less the assimilation of American culture, the greater the probability of the maintenance of this role.

Mexican men in Detroit generally expect their wives to behave in much the same fashion that they did in Mexico, and in order to obtain wives who will conduct themselves in traditional ways some immigrants return to Mexico to marry. Most Mexican women in Detroit have remained subordinate, home-centered creatures.

Mr. M complimented his wife by saying that he has noticed no change in her in the twenty years that she has lived in Detroit. She stays at home and "keeps the old ways." While the interview with Mr. M went on, Mrs. M sat quietly nearby with her hands folded in her lap. She spoke only when he asked her a question, answering in Spanish since she knew no English.

The woman's role is that of a homemaker, an inculcator of religious precepts, a protector of her girl children. While most women accept the restraints imposed on them by the culture of the homeland, a small proportion of Detroit Mexican women come to take advantage of the greater freedom possible there.¹⁰ If the wife has assimilated American culture more rapidly than has her husband, she may use her knowledge to effect a reversal, from subordination to superordination, in family roles. Regarding one wife a case record reports:

Woman is a very dominant person, quite excitable in her manner . . . very loud. . . . Mrs. A seems to be spokesman for the family.

Such transformation of roles was most pos-

⁹ M. S. Handman, "San Antonio, the Old Capital City of Mexican Life and Culture," *Survey*, 66:164. A case record bears this out. In 1934, Raymond G was interviewed in the G home and stated that while he stays at times with the G family "most of the time he stays with his god-parents."

¹⁰ A twenty-four year old girl viewed this lessening of restriction as the most notable change she had seen in her fifteen years in Detroit. Families are "more strict" with their daughters in Mexico, she said. For side-lights on the Detroit scene, see E. S. Bogardus, *The Mexican in the United States*, Los Angeles, 1934, p. 28; Manuel Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States*, Chicago, 1930, p. 89.

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sible when the wife was considerably younger than the husband, or in cases, as was true in several instances, where the wife was American-born but of Mexican derivation.

As a result of the differing degrees to which they have acquired American culture and retained Mexican culture, the members of the Mexican family have changed positions relative to one another within that unit. More abstractly, changed levels of status appear in the social structure of the family.

In general, the structure of the peon family in Detroit has changed in three ways: the status role and corresponding conception of self of the father has declined relative to that of the women and children; the wife has tended to retain her previous status role position through the greater retention of Mexican meanings and understandings, although in some instances the wife has come to occupy a position of social superordination; the status role of the children has largely reversed itself, and this is particularly true for the oldest boy, who plays an entirely new role.

The oldest child acts as mentor to later born siblings. He has paved the way. His experiences and directions in regard to Mexican and American cultural meanings and understandings serve as a framework for their later definitions. As mentor in American ways, as one who knows the rights and wrongs of American culture, the oldest child may assume parental functions. He becomes protector, orderer, and forbiddancer; in short, a foster parent, schooled in American ways.¹¹ His ordering and forbidding, his age, may make him socially a hostile competitor, a family member exercising authority over the whole family which he could exercise only over his sister in the homeland. Young men have assumed positions either of dominance or of equality to their fathers, while in gen-

eral girls have acquiesced to a subordinate, home-centered position; yet even the conformers possess more freedom for outside activities than do their mothers, and hence have somewhat higher status than their mothers.

The second generation, and particularly the boys of this generation, have been so broadly exposed to the dominant American culture that they have come to possess meanings which are at times in direct opposition to those of their parents. Thus, for a working youth to contribute his whole earnings to family support is in addition to its utility for the family, a social value (an emotionally charged meaning) to the immigrant; contrariwise, some male children, who follow American norms in this regard, do not recognize, or choose to ignore, the value elements in surrendering their pay checks. They see only a practice lacking utility for themselves and therefore to be opposed. It is clear that many things which for the parental generation were values of peasant Mexico, as for example regular church attendance or respect for the inexorable authority of the father, lie for the children in the realm of utilitarian symbols (closely empirically grounded meanings), concerning which choice may be exercised.

It is evident that the dissimilar symbols and values possessed by each member of the family is largely a consequence of differential association of family members with Americans, of unlike participation in American culture, and of the dissimilar store of meanings originally carried by these individuals. These factors have given rise to discordant conceptions of self. Conceptions of self get out of harmony with previously defined status roles. The father has tried unsuccessfully to maintain his conception of himself and of his role, particularly in the eyes of his children, whose own conceptions of themselves and definitions of their roles clash with those of their parents.

In Mexico, the status hierarchy in the family runs father, mother, son, and daughter, in that order, from high to low position. Four fairly distinct levels are apparent, and there is a large gap between the father on

¹¹ Joseph, for example, on several occasions, is noted to have told his younger siblings that "they would obey better than they were obeying" and not "go bad" like he had. See Norman D. Humphrey, "The Stereotype and Social Types of Mexican-American Youths," *Journal of Social Psychology* (forthcoming).

the topmost rung, and the daughter on the lowest.

In Detroit the positioning is decisively altered. The son has assumed a position about equal with the father, and above the mother; while the daughter has climbed at least onto the same level with the mother. Also it appears that the possible overall range of status has been distinctly narrowed: only two of the former four planes now accommodate all four positions. This may be interpreted as a phenomenon of leveling out, or democratizing within the family.

The assimilation indicated herein has been one of process, rather than that of a completed readjustment. Reorganization on a new level has not sufficiently advanced in the second generation to allow for the empiric construction of emergent and stabilized status roles. Some conditions of the "typical" immigrant family can be indicated, however, and following this some features of the second generation family may be noted.

The immigrant family's aspirations do not as yet include the conventional middle class American ones of a better home, travel, and education for the children. The children range in age from those in grammar school to the oldest who has completed the tenth grade in school, and who is now employed in an unskilled factory job. The younger children plan to complete the twelfth grade, and then train for a trade.

The children attend, as much as they are able, the Mexican club dances, and together with the rest of the family go to the club picnics in the summer months. The main occupation of the woman is housewife; that of

the man intermittent provider. The girls complain that their parents don't want them to go out with boys, although occasionally they disobey. The boys disregard parental restraint as much as possible.

The family somewhat irregularly attends the Catholic church, though the children go largely to please their parents. The children speak English among themselves, and Spanish to their parents. The children do not belong to any Mexican clubs, and although the father once belonged to clubs; he no longer attends their regular meetings. He has accepted the concept of individuality and recognizes the necessity of competition. He knows that the Mexican concept, "brother helps brother," is supplanted in Detroit by the slogan, "every man for himself."

When the children leave home after marriage (although they may remain at home for a time), they virtually stop speaking Spanish, and in their own homes give up the holiday celebrations their parents enjoyed. The young husband still expects his wife to be subordinate to him, although he allows her much more freedom than his father gave his mother. His wife remains a quiet, "sweet" person, who is aware of the vicissitudes of American economic life, and tries to save some of his income for the future. Their home, however, is better furnished than that of their parents, and Mexican objects are largely absent. Their main recreational outlet is the movies, and their main goal the husband's regular employment in the "shop." In short, they have become functionally a young American working class family.

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INTERNAL MIGRATION IN SWEDEN AND INTERVENING OPPORTUNITIES

ELEANOR COLLINS ISBELL
Social Science Research Council

THE PRESENT ATTEMPT to test Stouffer's theory of intervening opportunities as a generalized expression of the relationship between migration and distance¹ was prompted by the belief that the potential utility of the theory justifies repeated efforts to determine its adequacy and by the availability of Swedish census data which could be employed for the purpose. The results of the current test, like those of the earlier ones by Stouffer and by Bright and Thomas,² tend to substantiate the theory despite the crudeness of measurements and the doubtful suitability of the data used as criteria of opportunities.

In Stouffer's words, his theory "assumes that there is no necessary relationship between mobility and distance. . . . It proposes that *the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities*. . . . The relation between mobility and distance may be said to depend on an auxiliary relationship, which expresses the cumulated (intervening) opportunities as a function of distance."³ The results of both Stouffer's application of this theory to data on residential mobility in Cleveland and Bright and Thomas' experiment with net interstate

migration data for the United States as of 1930 were "encouraging" in showing conformity between *patterns* of expectation and observation; but Stouffer recognized that many discrepancies were too large to attribute to chance, while Bright and Thomas' application of the chi-square test to Stouffer's and their own results indicated that "a real discrepancy" was involved in both cases. They suggest, however, that the chi-square test may be too sensitive to be applicable.

Bright and Thomas found discrepancies of two sorts, one of which they were able to reduce markedly by increasing the qualitative similarity of "opportunities" (i.e., by eliminating migration to California in their computations) and by holding constant the factor of direction. The other discrepancy, namely, an excess of expected over observed net migrants in the two smallest distance intervals, was attributed (1) to necessary crudeness of measurements which meant that these intervals represented "nearest migration" or "'opportunities' without 'intervening opportunities'"; and (2) to the fact that Stouffer's formula, "although the theory on which it is based postulates no necessary relationship of migration and distance, . . . does overweight appreciably *absence of distance* in the first interval merely because intervening opportunities are necessarily measured in terms of distance bands."⁴

For further investigation of these possible sources of discrepancy, Swedish census data on intercommunity migration seemed especially suitable. The census of 1930 tabulates all persons migrating from one community to another in Sweden between 1921 and 1930 by county of origin and county of destination of *last migration*,

¹ Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, 1940, 5:845-867.

² Margaret L. Bright and Dorothy S. Thomas, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities," *American Sociological Review*, 1941, 6:773-783.

³ Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 846-847. The basic formula is $\frac{\Delta y}{\Delta s} = \frac{a}{x} \times \frac{\Delta x}{\Delta s}$, Δy equalling the number of persons migrating from an origin to a circular band of width Δs ; x , the number of intervening opportunities; Δx , the number of opportunities within the band of width Δs .

⁴ Bright and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 779.

by sex;⁵ and for intracounty migrants the tabulation is further broken down into districts (*bygden*) of origin and destination.⁶ Applying Stouffer's terminology to the data for males the "opportunities" in each county can be defined as the total number of males settling in the county, including those migrating from one community to another within the county as well as in-migrants from all other counties, between 1921 and 1930. Obviously, some short-term "opportunities" superseded by subsequent migra-

those which primarily involve employment. Only if the ratio of young and old to middle-aged migrants were relatively constant for all distances would the effect of this heterogeneity be minimized. A further limitation of the Swedish data derives from the fact that, although they do not include intracommunity or purely residential moves, some of the short-distance moves between adjoining communities and counties, particularly between cities and their suburbs, in all probability do represent merely resi-

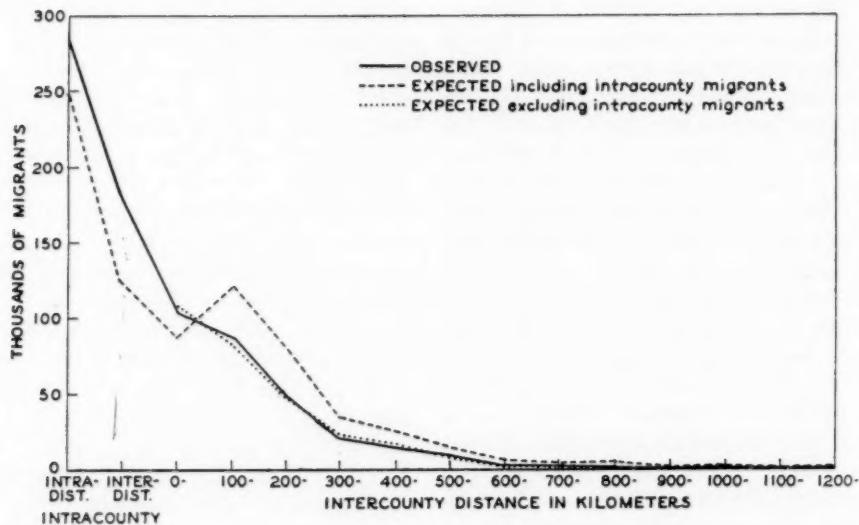


CHART 1. Observed and Expected Male Intercommunity Migrants, Sweden, 1921-30,
by Distance of Last Migration

tions are not included, but the picture is far more nearly complete than that which would be shown by net intercounty migration. A more serious limitation of the data, for our purposes, is the heterogeneity of the opportunities represented by male migrants of all ages. The migrations of young and middle-aged men doubtless do represent opportunities of an economic nature, but the incidental migrations of children as members of family groups and the moves made by older men who have retired reflect very different sorts of opportunities from

dential moves; and this introduces another element of dissimilarity in "opportunities" which will be seen to be a disturbing factor.

With the above definition of opportunities, "intervening opportunities" were, of course, the cumulated number of male migrants settling in all counties between the county of origin and the county of destination. Expected migrants or settlers at given distances were calculated for each county of origin by applying Stouffer's formula to these opportunities, intervening opportunities, and the number of male migrants originating in the county. Only crude approximation of migration distances was possible. The distances between the popu-

⁵ *Sveriges Officiella Statistik, Folkräkningen den 31 December 1930*, II, 178-185 (Table 21).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-227 (Table 24).

employment, and old to relatively consider the effect of zed. A further a derives from do not include identical moves, moves between counties, partly their suburbs, nt merely resi-

lation centers of each pair of counties as computed in the census of 1920⁷ were available;⁸ and 100-kilometer intervals were used for computing expected intercounty migrants, preceded by two intervals for intracounty migrants, in general representing less distant moves than those to the nearest

respects the computation procedure was identical with that described by Bright and

kilometer distance group or arbitrarily in a single "nearest" group seemed to improve the agreement of expected and observed migration enough to warrant a preliminary application of Stouffer's formula

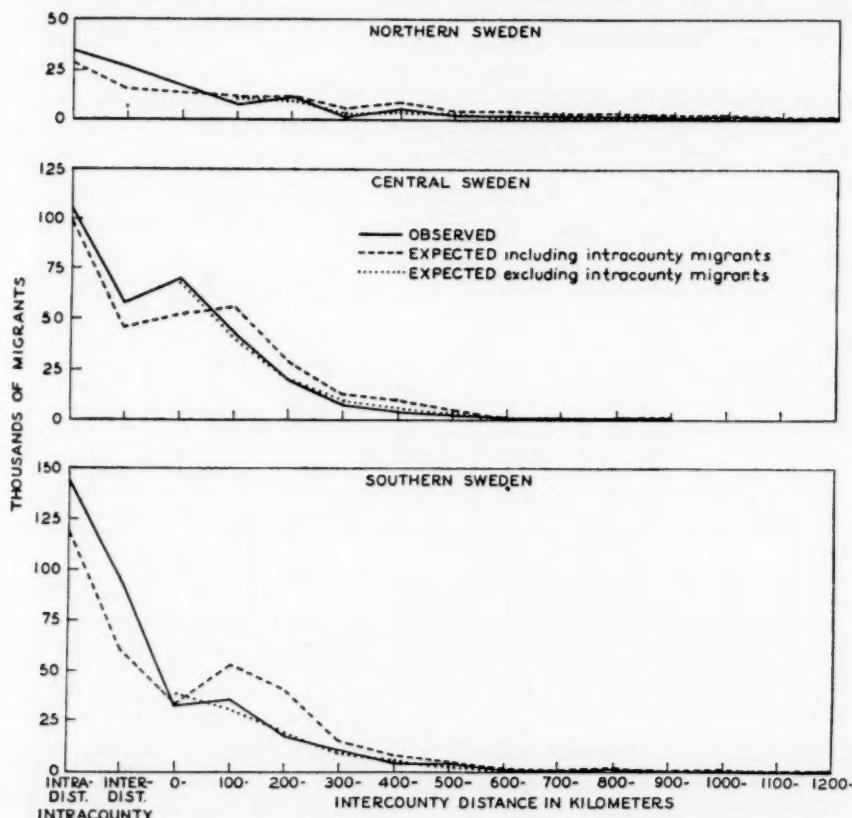


CHART 2. Observed and Expected Male Intercommunity Migrants, 1921-30, by Region of Origin and Distance of Last Migration

produces another "opportunities" disturbing factor. of opportunities" were, of number of male migrants between the county of destination settlers at given for each county. For Stouffer's formula to be effective, opportunities for male migrants. Only crude approximation of distances was between the popula-

on the basis of the smaller geographical unit, the district or *bygd*, so as to estimate "opportunities" for intradistrict movement in each county and avoid the assumption that their number was identical with the actual number of migrants in this category (the only one in which the definition of opportunities is affected by origin of migrants). The procedure was based on the assumption that on a county basis opportunities for intradistrict movement could not be separated from other opportunities in the county, and that opportunities in any district were represented by all moves into the district. Hence preliminary computations of expected migrants from each district to itself, to the rest of the county, and to all other counties at 100-

⁷ *Sveriges Officiella Statistik, Folkräkningen den 31 December 1920*, II, 92.

⁸ Stockholm University, Institute for Social Sciences, *Population Movements and Industrialization, Swedish Counties, 1895-1930*, Stockholm Economic Studies No. 10 (London: P. S. King & Son, 1941), pp. 72-73.

⁹ Use of these two nearest classes instead of including all intracounty migrants in the 0-100

Thomas,¹⁰ except that counties were substituted for states and total migrants over a period, for net migrants as of a particular date.

When the resultant distributions of expected migrants by distance were compared with those of observed migrants from the

tween the patterns of distribution of observed and expected migrants was again close enough to be termed "encouraging." (See Charts 1 and 2 and Table 1.) Major discrepancies were again found in the first two intervals (representing intracounty or nearest migration), but in contrast with

TABLE 1. MALE INTERCOMMUNITY MIGRANTS IN SWEDEN, 1921-30, BY REGION OF ORIGIN AND DISTANCE OF LAST MIGRATION, COMPARED WITH NUMBERS EXPECTED ACCORDING TO STOUFFER'S THEORY

Thousands of Migrants

Distance (kilometers)	Total Sweden		Northern Sweden (5 Counties)		Central Sweden (9 Counties)		Southern Sweden (11 Counties)	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
<i>Intracounty</i>								
Intradistrict	282.6	248.0	34.4	28.8	105.1	99.6	143.1	119.5
Interdistrict	178.9	123.6	26.0	15.4	58.7	46.5	94.1	61.7
<i>Intercounty</i>								
0—	102.6	85.9	—	—	70.1	52.3	32.5	33.6
100—	86.5	120.4	7.9	10.9	42.6	56.2	36.0	53.3
200—	49.0	80.9	11.5	11.5	19.1	28.3	18.4	41.1
300—	20.4	34.4	1.4	5.3	7.3	13.3	11.7	15.8
400—	14.0	26.1	5.6	7.4	4.3	9.1	4.1	9.6
500—	8.4	13.9	1.4	3.6	2.9	4.8	4.1	5.6
600—	2.9	6.6	1.7	3.9	.4	.4	.8	2.2
700—	2.5	3.9	1.5	2.6	.8	.8	.2	.6
800—	1.7	4.1	.9	2.1	.4	.3	.5	1.7
900—	.6	1.1	.3	.6	.1	.2	.2	.3
1000—	.9	1.7	.5	.8	—	—	.4	.8
1100—	.2	.3	.1	.2	—	—	.1	.2
1200—	.4	.7	.2	.3	—	—	.2	.4
Total	751.6	751.6	93.4	93.4	311.7	311.7	346.4	346.4

respective counties (24 counties and the separate administrative area of Stockholm City) and combined to afford comparison for the nation as a whole and for geographic divisions,¹¹ the correspondence be-

kilometer distance intervals were made, and the expected intradistrict movement summed for the districts in each county to approximate the opportunities which would be taken up by intradistrict moves in the county. Subtracting this sum from the total in-migrants to the county gave an estimate of the remaining opportunities in the county.

¹⁰ Bright and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 777.

¹¹ The divisions used are combinations of those delineated in Dorothy S. Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements 1750-1933* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), pp. 203-204. Divisions I, II, and III are combined as Southern Sweden; IV, V, and VIII, as Central Sweden; and VI and VII as Northern Sweden.

Bright and Thomas' results, the observed migrants were greatly in excess of the expected. In the four counties of Malmöhus, Gothenburg and Bohus, Östergötland, and Stockholm, which are the sites of Sweden's four largest cities, this discrepancy was much reduced or reversed in the first interval and very much exaggerated in the second, containing the large cities. (See Table 2. For Stockholm County the latter characteristic appears in the 0-100 km. interval containing Stockholm City.) Several factors may account for this divergence of the pattern of correspondence: first, the data for these counties are not strictly comparable with those for other counties. In the first three, intradistrict migrants are relatively few because the cities of Gothenburg

TABLE 2. MALE INTERCOMMUNITY MIGRANTS FROM SWEDISH COUNTIES CONTAINING LARGE CITIES AND REMAINING COUNTIES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN SWEDEN, 1921-30, BY DISTANCE OF LAST MIGRATION, COMPARED WITH NUMBERS EXPECTED ACCORDING TO STOUFFER'S THEORY

Thousands of Migrants

Central Sweden								
Distance (kilometers)	Stockholm City		Stockholm Co.		Östergötland Co.		6 Remaining Counties	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
<i>Intracounty</i>								
Intradistrict	—	—	15.8	22.5	19.9	19.2	69.5	57.9
Interdistrict	—	—	9.1	10.0	16.7	9.3	33.0	27.2
<i>Intercounty</i>								
0—	19.1	16.9	30.1	11.7	—	—	20.9	23.7
100—	2.6	5.1	1.3	4.9	10.5	15.0	28.2	31.2
200—	3.7	4.3	1.9	4.6	1.8	3.5	11.6	15.8
300—	3.1	2.8	.8	2.5	.7	2.1	2.7	5.9
400—	1.4	1.4	.8	2.4	—	—	2.1	5.3
500—	1.6	1.2	.5	1.5	.3	.6	.6	1.6
600—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.4	.4
700—	.4	.2	.1	.2	.1	.2	.2	.2
800—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.4	.3
900—	—	—	—	—	.1	.2	—	—
1000—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1100—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1200—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	31.9	31.9	60.3	60.3	50.1	50.1	169.5	169.5
<i>Southern Sweden</i>								
	Gothenburg & Bohus Co.		Malmöhus Co.		9 Remaining Counties		Observed	Expected
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected		
<i>Intracounty</i>								
Intradistrict	6.7	13.7	28.1	29.2	108.2	76.6	—	—
Interdistrict	21.3	9.5	32.3	15.7	40.6	36.5	—	—
<i>Intercounty</i>								
0—	4.4	3.8	6.9	5.4	21.2	24.3	—	—
100—	2.4	4.6	2.7	5.3	30.9	43.4	—	—
200—	2.6	6.3	2.3	8.5	13.4	26.3	—	—
300—	3.3	1.9	.8	4.0	7.7	10.0	—	—
400—	.7	1.2	.6	3.7	2.8	4.7	—	—
500—	—	—	3.6	4.2	.4	1.3	—	—
600—	.2	.4	.2	.6	.4	1.2	—	—
700—	—	—	—	—	.2	.6	—	—
800—	.1	.1	.2	.9	.2	.7	—	—
900—	—	—	—	—	.2	.3	—	—
1000—	.1	.1	.1	.3	.2	.4	—	—
1100—	—	—	—	—	.1	.2	—	—
1200—	—	—	.1	.3	.1	.1	—	—
Total	41.8	41.8	77.9	77.9	226.7	226.7	—	—

Malmö, and Norrköping constitute separate districts for which intradistrict migrants are identical with intracommunity migrants who are not included in the census tabulations; and for Stockholm County intradistrict migration is relatively infrequent compared with the great number of migrants crossing the boundary into Stockholm City. At the same time, as Bright and Thomas

point out, because of the "absence of distance" in the first interval the opportunities in it are relatively overweighted compared with those in the second and higher intervals. Also, the great excess of observed migrants in the intervals containing great cities strongly suggests a qualitative difference in the opportunities in such cities not adequately allowed for in an application of

TABLE 3. MALE INTERCOMMUNITY MIGRANTS IN SWEDEN 1921-30 BY REGION OF ORIGIN AND DISTANCE OF LAST MIGRATION, EXCLUDING MIGRANTS WHOSE LAST MOVE WAS INTRACOUNTY, COMPARED WITH NUMBERS EXPECTED ACCORDING TO STOUFFER'S THEORY

Thousands of Migrants

Distance (kilometers)	Total Sweden		Northern Sweden (5 Counties)		Central Sweden (9 Counties)		Southern Sweden (11 Counties)	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
0—	102.6	107.4	—	—	70.1	68.6	32.5	38.9
100—	86.5	81.2	7.9	10.2	42.6	40.2	36.0	30.8
200—	49.0	48.3	11.5	9.5	19.1	19.1	18.4	19.7
300—	20.4	22.1	1.4	2.8	7.3	9.8	11.7	9.5
400—	14.0	15.9	5.6	4.3	4.3	6.1	4.1	5.5
500—	8.4	7.6	1.4	1.9	2.9	3.0	4.1	2.6
600—	2.9	2.6	1.7	1.6	.4	.2	.8	.7
700—	2.5	2.2	1.5	1.4	.8	.7	.2	.2
800—	1.7	1.3	.9	.6	.4	.2	.5	.5
900—	.6	.4	.3	.2	.1	.1	.2	.2
1000—	.9	.6	.5	.3	—	—	.4	.3
1100—	.2	.2	.1	.1	—	—	.1	.1
1200—	.4	.2	.2	.1	—	—	.2	.1
Total	290.1	290.1	33.0	33.0	147.9	147.9	109.2	109.2

Central Sweden

	Stockholm City		Stockholm Co.		Östergötland Co.		6 Remaining Counties	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
0—	19.1	18.3	30.1	22.8	—	—	20.9	27.5
100—	2.6	4.0	1.3	3.2	10.5	10.6	28.2	22.3
200—	3.7	3.9	1.9	3.5	1.8	1.7	11.6	9.9
300—	3.1	3.2	.8	2.4	.7	.8	2.7	3.4
400—	1.4	1.4	.8	2.3	—	—	2.1	2.4
500—	1.6	.9	.5	1.0	.3	.2	.6	.9
600—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.4	.2
700—	.4	.2	.1	.2	.1	.1	.2	.1
800—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.4	.2
900—	—	—	—	—	.1	.1	—	—
1000—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1100—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1200—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	31.9	31.9	35.4	35.4	13.5	13.5	67.0	67.0

absence of dis-
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application of

DISTANCE OF LAST
MIGRATION
ARED WITH

Southern Sweden
(11 Counties)

Served	Expected
2.5	38.9
3.0	30.8
3.4	19.7
3.7	9.5
4.1	5.5
4.1	2.6
4.8	.7
.2	.2
.5	.5
.2	.2
.4	.3
.1	.1
.2	.1
0.2	109.2

Served	Expected
2.9	27.5
3.2	22.3
3.6	9.9
3.7	3.4
2.1	2.4
.6	.9
.4	.2
.2	.1
.4	.2
0.0	67.0

Southern Sweden

	Gothenburg & Bohus Co.		Malmöhus Co.		9 Remaining Counties	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
0—	4.4	5.7	6.9	6.9	21.2	26.3
100—	2.4	2.6	2.7	3.0	30.9	25.3
200—	2.6	2.9	2.3	3.2	13.4	13.6
300—	3.3	1.7	.8	.8	7.7	7.0
400—	.7	.7	.6	1.1	2.8	3.8
500—	—	—	3.6	2.1	.4	.5
600—	.2	.1	.2	.1	.4	.4
700—	—	—	—	—	.2	.2
800—	.1	.1	.2	.2	.2	.3
900—	—	—	—	—	.2	.2
1000—	.1	.1	.1	.1	.2	.2
1100—	—	—	—	—	.1	.1
1200—	—	—	.1	.1	.1	.1
Total	13.8	13.8	17.6	17.6	77.9	77.9

Stouffer's formula to total migration data.

The fact that most of the counties and the nation as a whole exhibit excesses of observed over expected migrants in the nearest intervals may be attributable to one of the limitations of the data, namely, the inclusion of some purely residential moves which as "opportunities" are distributed over the whole range but as observed migrants are all included in the nearest intervals. On this account the estimates of near-distance migration would always tend to be deficient compared with the observed numbers. This assumption could be tested, of course, by eliminating the majority of such moves from consideration by excluding all migrants whose last move was intracounty from both opportunities and out-migrants in the computation of expected migrants. Calculations were consequently carried through on this basis; and the results seem to confirm our assumption. As can be seen from Charts 1 and 2 and Table 3, the two intervals which now represent the nearest migration distances do not consistently show excesses of observed over expected migrants; there is a striking improvement in the correspondence between the *patterns* of observed and expected intercounty migrants; and the relative differences between the actual and estimated numbers in each distance class are with few

exceptions reduced considerably for the nation as a whole, for the geographic divisions, and for the counties which are sites of large cities. Application of the chi-square test to results of the two series of computations gave values of chi-square shown in the first two rows of Table 4. As Bright and Thomas found, the computed values are so enormous as hardly to justify their calculation; but they are impressively reduced when intracounty moves are omitted. While most of this improvement may perhaps fairly be ascribed to an increased similarity in opportunities due to the exclusion of residential moves, a part of the improvement may be traceable to a resulting reduction in the amount of overlapping between groups in our crude classification of moves by distance.

Although the omission of intracounty moves weakened or eliminated the characteristic excess of observed over expected migrants to nearest distances, the direction of the discrepancy in the first two intervals was not consistently reversed so as to agree with the pattern found by Bright and Thomas. There was, however, a fairly strong tendency toward reversal in the first interval in which two-thirds of the counties and the nation as a whole now showed excesses of expected over observed migrants. For the nation this excess would have been more

pronounced were it not for the weight of the discrepancy in the opposite direction in Stockholm County and Stockholm City, where the influence of residential moves was not much diminished by the exclusion of intracounty moves.

With the elimination of intracounty migrants the factor of direction can be held relatively constant. An earlier analysis of direction of intercounty migration based on birth-residence indexes revealed that the main "routes" of net intercounty migration

TABLE 4. CHI-SQUARE VALUES*

Group of migrants	Total Sweden			Northern Sweden			Central Sweden		
	n	χ^2	P=.05	n	χ^2	P=.05	n	χ^2	P=.05
All intercommunity	14	73,100	24	13	24,147	22	6	2,094	13
All intercounty	12	1,648	21	11	2,632	20	6	1,359	13
Intercounty north or east	12	1,314†	21	4	47†	9	5	3,274	11
Intercounty south or west	12	1,489†	21	11	2,188	20	5	1,613	11
Intercounty north or east excluding migrants to St. City	12	1,470†	21	—	—	—	—	—	6
Intercounty south or west excluding migrants to St. City	12	1,103†	21	11	809	20	—	—	—
Central Sweden—Continued									
	Östergötland Co.			6 Remaining Counties			Total (excl. St. City & Co.)		
	n	χ^2	P=.05	n	χ^2	P=.05	n	χ^2	P=.05
All intercommunity	7	9,186	14	10	9,577	18	11	15,423	20
All intercounty	5	57	11	8	4,037	16	9	3,415	17
Intercounty north or east	5	72	11	8	1,322	16	9	1,073	17
Intercounty south or west	2	20	6	5	474	11	5	417	11
Intercounty north or east excluding migrants to St. City	5	77	11	8	1,044	16	9	844	17
Intercounty south or west excluding migrants to St. City	—	—	—	5	324	11	5	339	11
Southern Sweden									
	Gothenburg & Bohus Co.			Malmöhus Co.			9 Remaining Counties		
	n	χ^2	P=.05	n	χ^2	P=.05	n	χ^2	P=.05
All intercommunity	9	22,652	17	11	29,992	20	14	27,053	24
All intercounty	7	1,846	14	9	1,590	17	12	2,622	21
Intercounty north or east	7	785	14	9	1,590	17	12	1,790	21
Intercounty south or west	2	228	6	—	—	—	3	1,087†	8
Intercounty north or east excluding migrants to St. City	7	544	14	9	485	17	12	1,029	21
	n	χ^2	P=.05	n	χ^2	P=.05	n	χ^2	P=.05
All intercommunity	9	22,652	17	11	29,992	20	14	27,053	24
All intercounty	7	1,846	14	9	1,590	17	12	2,622	21
Intercounty north or east	7	785	14	9	1,590	17	12	1,790	21
Intercounty south or west	2	228	6	—	—	—	3	1,087†	8
Intercounty north or east excluding migrants to St. City	7	544	14	9	485	17	12	1,029	21

* Slide-rule computations. n = number of degrees of freedom.

† In chi-square computations, counties for which observed and expected totals were the same, because only one county was classified in a particular "direction," were omitted.

TABLE 5. MALE INTERCOUNTY MIGRANTS* IN SWEDEN, 1921-30, BY ORIGIN, DIRECTION, AND DISTANCE OF LAST MIGRATION, COMPARED WITH NUMBERS EXPECTED ACCORDING TO STOUFFER'S THEORY

Thousands of Migrants

Distance (kilometers)	Total Sweden		Northern Sweden (5 Counties)		Central Sweden						Southern Sweden (11 Counties)	
					Stockholm City		Stockholm County		7 Remaining Counties			
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.
To North or East:												
0—	55.1	58.0	—	—	.9	2.6	28.4	24.5	10.8	13.3	15.0	17.6
100—	46.3	46.4	3.1	3.3	.8	.9	.5	1.3	20.4	18.3	21.4	22.6
200—	25.2	25.8	3.9	3.7	1.6	.9	.9	2.3	4.2	3.6	14.6	15.3
300—	12.5	11.2	.2	.3	—	—	.3	1.0	.6	1.0	11.3	8.9
400—	6.8	6.6	.8	.7	1.0	.4	.1	.4	.9	.8	4.1	4.3
500—	4.9	3.6	—	—	.3	.1	.1	.5	.5	.5	4.1	2.5
600—	1.3	1.2	.2	.2	—	—	—	—	.4	.4	.8	.6
700—	1.0	1.1	—	—	.4	.1	.1	.5	.3	.3	.2	.2
800—	.8	.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	.4	.2	.5	.4
900—	.3	.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	.1	.1	.2	.1
1000—	.4	.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.4	.2
1100—	.1	.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.1	.1
1200—	.2	.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.2	.1
Total	155.1	155.1	8.2	8.2	5.0	5.0	30.5	30.5	38.5	38.5	72.9	72.9
To South or West:												
0—	47.5	46.4	—	—	18.1	15.9	1.7	2.2	10.1	10.4	17.5	17.8
100—	40.3	41.5	4.8	6.1	1.8	3.0	.8	1.1	18.3	18.1	14.6	13.2
200—	23.7	23.9	7.6	7.7	2.1	2.6	1.0	.6	9.3	8.1	3.7	4.8
300—	8.0	10.0	1.2	2.4	3.1	3.7	.6	.5	2.7	3.1	.4	.4
400—	7.2	6.6	4.8	3.5	.4	.9	.7	.4	1.3	1.7	.0	.0
500—	3.4	2.9	1.4	1.4	1.3	.8	.3	.1	.4	.6	—	—
600—	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
700—	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
800—	.9	.5	.9	.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
900—	.3	.1	.3	.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1000—	.5	.3	.5	.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1100—	.1	.1	.1	.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1200—	.2	.1	.2	.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	135.0	135.0	24.8	24.8	26.9	26.9	4.9	4.9	42.1	42.1	36.3	36.3

* Excluding migrants who made subsequent moves within the county.

up to 1930 had led to Stockholm City and its environs, one route coming from the counties to the south and west, another from the counties to the north.¹² These two routes form a sort of migration axis along which, for our purposes, the counties can be so ranked that migration from any county to all counties preceding it is chiefly southerly or southwesterly in direction, and

migration from any county to those following it is northerly or northeasterly.¹³ No new computations were necessary, of course,

¹² The ranking of counties is as follows: 1 Malmöhus, 2 Kristianstad, 3 Blekinge, 4 Kronoberg, 5 Halland, 6 Jönköping, 7 Kalmar, 8 Gotland, 9 Gothenburg and Bohus, 10 Älvborg, 11 Skaraborg, 12 Östergötland, 13 Värmland, 14 Örebro, 15 Södermanland, 16 Stockholm, 17 Stockholm City, 18 Uppsala, 19 Västmanland, 20 Kopparberg, 21 Gävleborg, 22 Jämtland, 23 Västernorrland, 24 Västerbotten, 25 Norrbotten. The first eleven counties constitute

¹³ Stockholm University, Institute for Social Sciences, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-60.

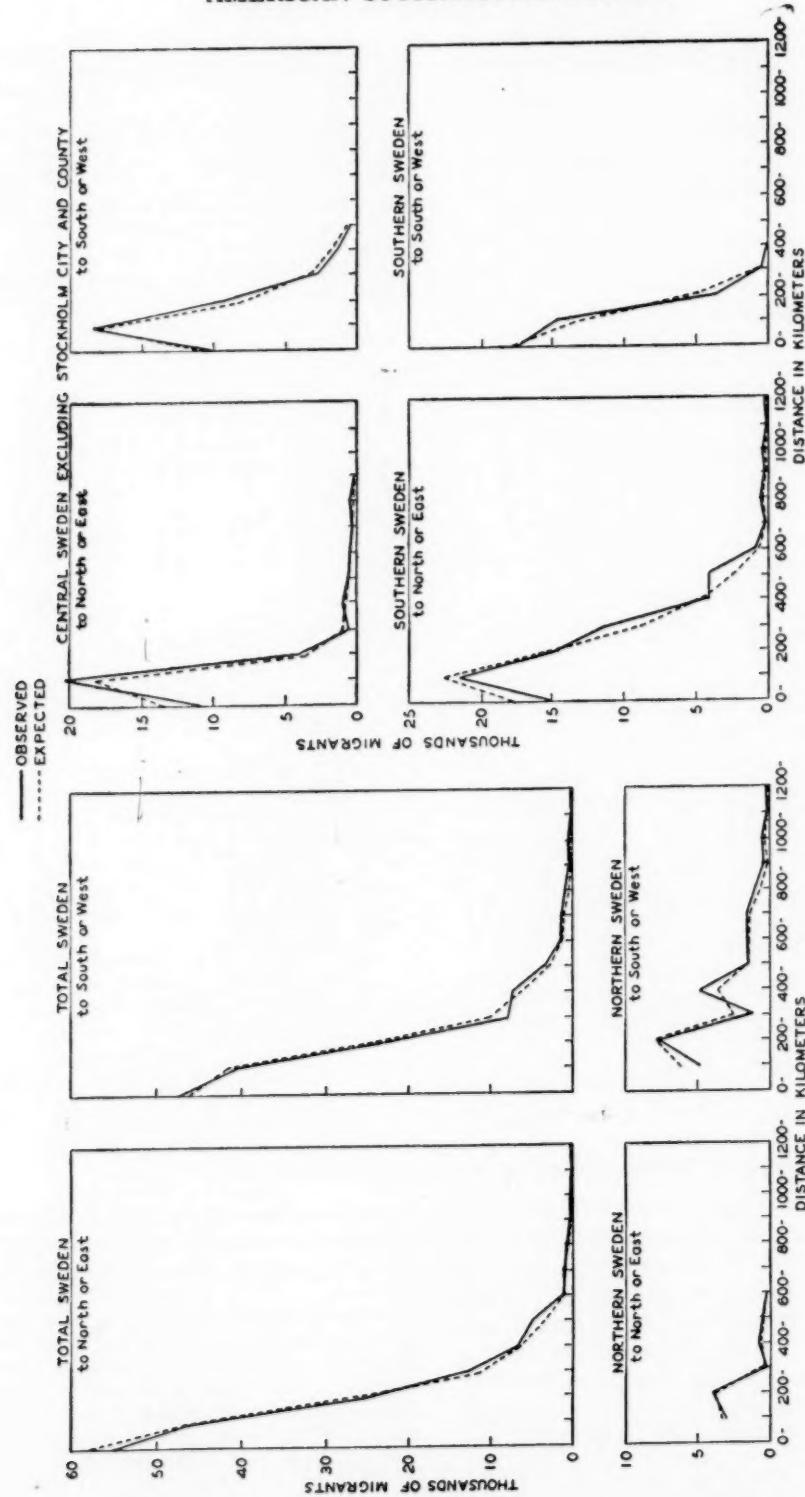


CHART 3. Observed and Expected Male Intercounty Migrants, 1921-30, by Region of Origin, Direction, and Distance of Last Migration

for the most southerly county nor for the most northerly, but for all others estimated distributions of out-migrants were recalculated for two universes—migration northward or eastward, and migration southward or westward—determined by the position of

Southern Sweden in our delineation of geographic regions; the next nine, Central Sweden; and the last five, Northern Sweden.

the county-of-origin in this array. The results appear in Table 5 and Chart 3, and the respective chi-square values in the third and fourth rows of Table 4. Almost without exception the correspondence between the observed and expected distributions is again considerably improved. The outstanding exception is Stockholm City, where classification of all movement to Stockholm County

TABLE 6. MALE INTERCOUNTY MIGRANTS* IN SWEDEN, 1921-30, EXCLUDING THOSE WHOSE LAST MOVE WAS TO STOCKHOLM CITY, BY ORIGIN, DIRECTION, AND DISTANCE OF LAST MIGRATION, COMPARED WITH NUMBERS EXPECTED ACCORDING TO STOUFFER'S THEORY

Thousands of Migrants

Distance (kilometers)	Total Sweden†		Northern Sweden (5 Counties)		Central Sweden				Southern Sweden (11 Counties)	
			Stockholm County		7 Remaining Counties		Obs.		Exp.	
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.
To North or East:										
0—	24.9	27.8			2.6	2.4	6.4	7.9	15.0	14.9
100—	40.9	37.5			.5	.8	15.0	13.3	21.4	19.2
200—	20.3	20.2			.9	.8	2.9	3.0	11.0	11.8
300—	5.2	6.8			.3	.3	.6	1.0	4.0	5.2
400—	5.6	5.4			.1	.1	.9	.8	2.9	3.4
500—	2.0	2.1			.1	.1	.5	.5	1.1	1.4
600—	1.3	1.3			—	—	.4	.4	.8	.8
700—	1.0	.7	See Table 5 (No change)		.1	.1	.3	.3	.2	.2
800—	.8	.6			—	—	.4	.2	.5	.5
900—	.3	.2			—	—	.1	.1	.2	.1
1000—	.4	.3			—	—	—	—	.4	.3
1100—	.1	.1			—	—	—	—	.1	.1
1200—	.2	.1			—	—	—	—	.2	.1
Total	103.1†	103.1†			4.6	4.6	27.4	27.4	57.9	57.9
To South or West:										
0—	44.4	42.1	—	—			7.1	6.1		
100—	37.3	36.9	4.8	4.5			15.3	15.1		
200—	18.6	20.4	5.5	5.6			6.3	6.7		
300—	8.0	9.6	1.2	2.0			2.7	3.1		
400—	4.8	5.2	2.4	2.3			1.3	1.6		
500—	2.8	2.5	.8	1.0			.4	.5		
600—	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.4	See Table 5 (No change)	—	—		See Table 5 (No change)	
700—	.7	.8	.7	.9		—	—			
800—	.9	.6	.9	.6		—	—			
900—	.3	.2	.3	.2		—	—			
1000—	.5	.3	.5	.3		—	—			
1100—	.1	.1	.1	.1		—	—			
1200—	.2	.1	.2	.1		—	—			
Total	120.0†	120.0†	18.9	18.9		33.1	33.1			

* Excluding migrants who made subsequent moves within the county.

† Includes migrants from Stockholm City as shown in Table 5.

CHART 3. Observed and Expected Male Intercounty Migrants, 1921-30, by Region of Origin, Direction, and Distance of Last Migration

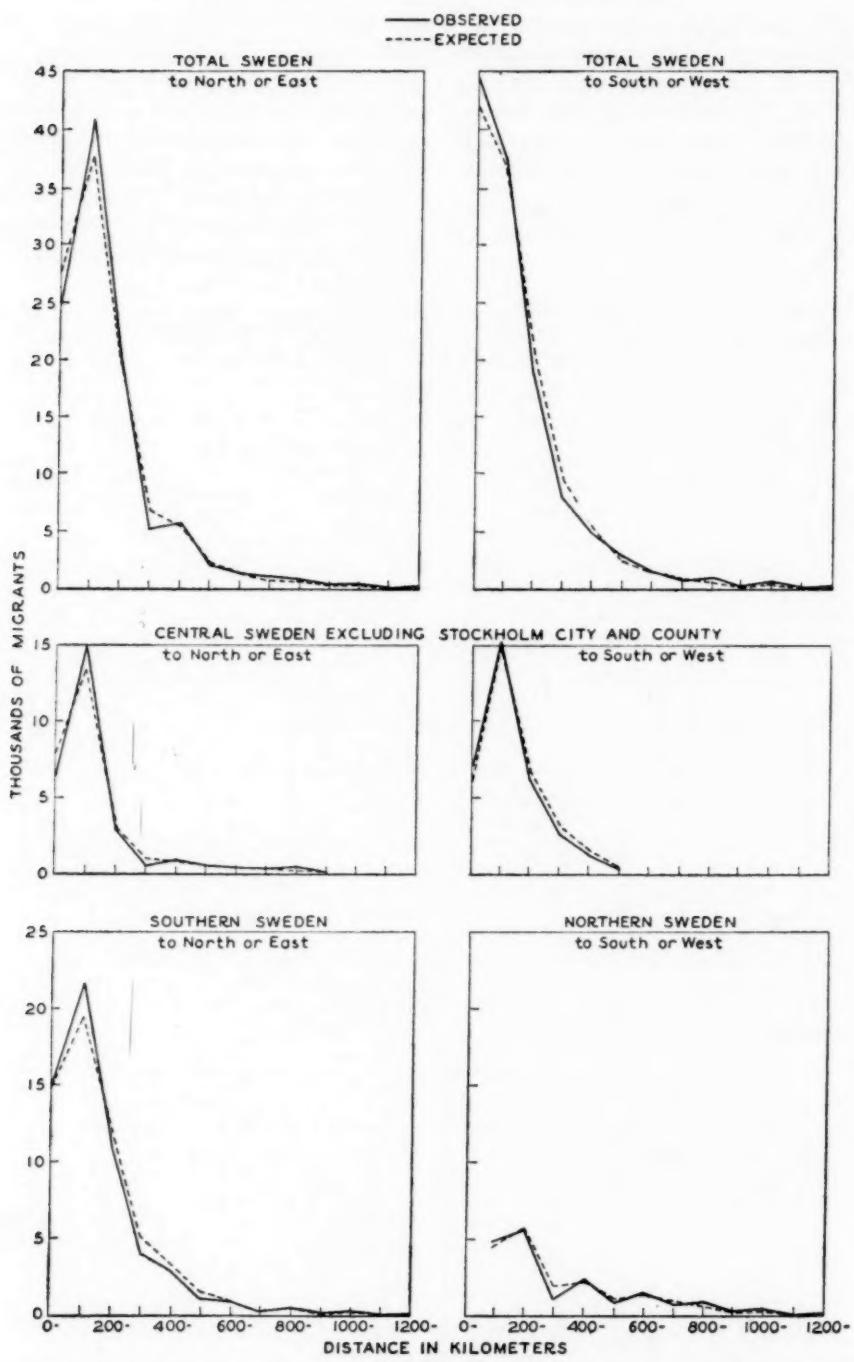


CHART 4. Observed and Expected Male Intercounty Migrants, 1921-30, Excluding Those to Stockholm City, by Region of Origin, Direction, and Distance of Last Migration

as southward grossly violates the facts.

Inspection of this series of curves suggested that the major discrepancies now consisted of excesses of observed over expected migrants to the distance intervals containing large cities, principally Stockholm. Expected migrants were therefore recalculated omitting moves to Stockholm City from both opportunities and out-migrants, and the results were the most satisfactory yet obtained (see Table 6 and Chart 4). The chi-square values (fifth and sixth rows of Table 4) show that the fit of the respective pairs of curves has again improved in nearly every case. That the opportunities in the capital have a distinctive character, attracting migrants regardless of the number of intervening opportunities cannot be doubted.

Something of the kind is presumably true also of the other large cities but inspection of the distributions of migrants from the separate counties does not suggest that excluding migrants to these cities from the calculations would remove the discrepancies in our final results. There are quite consistent excesses of observed over expected migrants in the second distance interval and frequently similar excesses in the first interval, where the opposite might be expected from the nature of the formula. It is possible that these excesses of observed migrants to nearer distances may be explained by Thomas' findings in a study as yet unpublished. With thoroughly adequate Swed-

ish data she has shown that migrants to near destinations have tended to comprise disproportionate numbers of family members; migrants to far destinations, disproportionate numbers of "lone" persons. In our calculations, family members, like residential moves discussed above, are distributed as opportunities over the whole range of distance, but as observed migrants they may tend to be concentrated in the nearer intervals and consequently underestimated there. A desirable next step, if possible, would be to apply Stouffer's formula separately to "lone" migrants and to those who are heads of families, omitting other family members entirely. The hypothesis might account for the distributions of the separate groups of migrants better than for their combined distributions; but if distance *per se* appeared to influence one class more than the other, Stouffer's assumption of no necessary relationship between mobility and distance might need qualification.

The results of this study emphasize the need for testing Stouffer's theory with more homogeneous data than were available, if a conclusive demonstration is to be had. As in Bright and Thomas' study, increasing the similarity of opportunities and of the group of migrants under consideration repeatedly strengthened the evidence supporting the theory, but that evidence is still inconclusive. It is suggested that more convincing tests of the theory will depend upon refinement of definitions of opportunities.

AN EMPLOYMENT EXPECTANCY RATING SCALE

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THE RESEARCH behind the "Employment Expectancy Rating Scale" is the result of a conviction that just as individuals differ in "intelligence" and "personality," so too, they differ in their employment chances. When after many years of considering "intelligence" as an unanalyzable quality, it was defined in terms of measurable components, prediction became possible. Individuals were no longer totally "intelligent" or totally "unintelligent" but *degrees* of intelligence were recognized. In recent years "personality," "aptitude," "merit" and a host of other human qualities have been redefined in terms of measurable components.

Our thesis is that "employment chances" too may be considered in terms of measurable components rather than the usual categories, "employable" and "unemployable."

If the words "employable" and "unemployable" accurately described a characteristic of an individual, then obtaining a job would simply become a matter of applying for it first. However, we know that this is not the case. Individuals find jobs with varying degrees of facility. Some find jobs immediately, others search vainly for long periods before gaining employment.

Since there are degrees of employability, employment chances cannot be based on a single factor which a person either does or does not possess. There is need therefore to redefine the words "employable" and "unemployable" in terms of measurable component characteristics.

The problem, in which we are interested, is to determine whether the degree of an individual's employability can be defined so as to predict his or her actual employment prospects, with reasonable accuracy, upon the basis of these measurable components.

The following research represents an attempt at the solution of this problem. Start-

ing from the premise that behind the words "employable" and "unemployable" lie many factors contributing in varying degrees to an individual's chances of employment, the problem becomes threefold. First, it is necessary to separate out the factors contributing to "employability." That is, assuming "employability" to be a function of various characteristics of an individual, it is first necessary to determine what these characteristics are. Second, these characteristics must be analyzed and related directly to employment prospects. Third, the relationships discovered must be combined in such a manner that the composite, or sum total of them will provide a means of predicting an individual's chances of employment in terms of degree rather than on an "all or none basis."

The writer found that the *United States Census Bureau Reports* and the reports of the New York State Employment Service were not helpful except as guideposts to the characteristics under which employment groups are usually classified. More helpful were application forms for jobs and personal interviews with employment specialists. These provided a simple means of obtaining a list of characteristics generally presumed to have a bearing upon employability. The problem was discussed with executives of various placement agencies, the director and interviewers of a local employment office (New York State Employment Office, now U.S.E.S.), the employment division heads of welfare departments and an executive of the Department of Research and Statistics of the New York State Employment Service. By means of these interviews and a compilation of the questions asked on job applications, a list of sixteen characteristics considered to be important was finally obtained.

The list included: age, experience, length of time job applicant has been unemployed,

nationality, dependency (marital status; spouse working, etc.), race, religion, citizenship, physical defects, education, wages received in last six months, prison record, termination of work (lay off, fired or quit), sex, personality and home conditions.

None of the interviewers mentioned all of the sixteen characteristics. While those interviewed had *general* ideas of what helped or hindered the chances of a person's employment, there was no indication of specific thinking in the direction of reducing "employability" into its component terms.

Having decided on the basic characteristics, the next step was to obtain a device by which the entire range of each characteristic could be made to furnish us with a measuring rod of employability in so far as that characteristic would permit. That is "age" for instance, can be divided into the various age groups, beginning with the legal age for children working up through the maximum age, at which there could be little chance of obtaining work on the employment must be considered as a function comes, how employable is a person of a particular age? But since "age" does not tell the whole story of employability, each of the other characteristics must be similarly treated and an individual's chances of employment must be considered as a function of his employment chances on each separate characteristic.

In order to obtain ratings for the degrees of the various characteristics, an eleven-point rating scale was used for each. The eleven-point scale is a measuring rod of an attitude variable. The scale is divided into ten equal-appearing intervals. The first, or minimum point is "0" and the maximum point "10." These points are numbered from zero through ten. Point "5," therefore has as many equidistant points above it as below it. This point must correspond to the degree of the variable which is midway between the maximum and minimum amount. In this way an instrument is constructed which will measure the degree of a variable in terms of eleven fixed points.

The "0" point on the Employability

Scale corresponds to the minimum of the variable or "least employable" and the "10" point corresponds to the "most employable." Between these two points on the scale are ten equal divisions; the "five" point corresponding to the degree of the variable midway between "least employability" and "most employability." It can be described as the "neutral" position on the scale. The eleven point scale provides a means of obtaining an "employability" measurement of every "item" of each "characteristic."¹

A questionnaire was therefore set up embodying the psycho-physical method of equal-appearing intervals since every item can be assigned a definite position on the same linear representation of the employability continuum.²

The scale itself consisted of the sixteen characteristics each divided into its range of possibilities by a series of statements. The rater was requested to circle the number which he considered to indicate most nearly the effect of the characteristic, as described, upon the applicant's chances of employment. A response on every statement was requested. The following is an example from the scale:

I. AGE

	Least Employable	Neutral	Most Employable
i. If the applicant is between the ages of:			
a. 18-20	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
b. 21-25	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
c. 26-30	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
d. 31-35	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
e. 36-40	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
f. 41-45	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
g. 46-50	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
h. 51-55	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
i. 56-60	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
j. 61-65	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
k. 66-70	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
l. 71 on	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		

¹ "Characteristic" as used in this study refers to the broad and inclusive category considered in employment. An "item" is the specific sub-division of a "characteristic." Thus "age" is a characteristic for which the age group "18-20" is an item.

² For a fuller explanation of the construction of the scale by psycho-physical methods see: Thurston, L. L. and Chave, E. J. *The Measurement of Attitudes*.

After the scale was constructed it was decided that the judges or raters should be of two general groups. The first group to consist of persons who do the hiring for private employers of not less than 100 employees. The second group chosen was composed of people actively engaged and trained (some have M.A. and Ph.D. degrees) in job placement in the New York State Employment Service at Syracuse, N.Y. (now U.S.E.S.).³

In December of 1941, the questionnaire was sent out to 200 employers. The employers were divided into two groups. One hundred and twenty questionnaires were sent to general business concerns and eighty to manufacturing concerns. Those going to manufacturers were marked with an "m" and those going to general business concerns (department stores, banks, etc.) were marked with a "b." In this way a returned questionnaire could be placed in its proper group while still maintaining our promise of anonymity. A separate summary was made for each group. In addition to these two groups, eighteen interviewers at the Syracuse U.S.E.S. office were also given questionnaires to fill out.

A total of 104 returns were obtained, 60 from general business concerns and 44 from manufacturers. All eighteen questionnaires given out at the U.S.E.S. office were returned. Thus, altogether, 122 judgements were obtained.

Tabulation of the checking of items was done separately for the three groups: busi-

tude, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

³ Interest in the problem was shown by Mr. Leon H. Abbott, Onondaga County Public Welfare Commissioner (N.Y.), who expressed willingness to have the questionnaire mailed out under his endorsement. In addition, through his assistance, endorsement by other community leaders was secured. Although the entire study was carried out by the writer, nevertheless, Dr. Robert F. Steadman of the Syracuse University School of Citizenship counseled. The writer also received valuable assistance and statistical advice from his wife, Dorothy Loeb Newer. Dr. Meredith B. Givens, Research Director of the New York State Division of Unemployment Insurance gave excellent aid in the original construction of the scale.

ness, manufacturers and U.S.E.S. The mean (arithmetic average) was chosen as the best central tendency measure of each item. This choice was based on the fact that the mean is the only average which takes into account all values of the sample.

Wide divergence between the means of the three groups would have made it impossible for any single value to be considered representative of general employment practice for an item. However, in as much as great similarity was shown by the obtained means (see Figure 1), a weighted average of the three groups was computed by the formula:

$$NM = N_1 M_1 + N_2 M_2 + \dots N_r M_r$$

in which N equals the number of raters and M equals the mean of the item.⁴ This weighted average is indicated by the letter "D" in Figure 1. Because of the few raters (18), the weight of the U.S.E.S. group is least and the weighted average most closely resembles the numerically similar means of the business and manufacturing groups.

The weighted average constitutes the "raw score" of the item. It is this weighted average which forms the basis of the final scoring system by use of an involved statistical formula which will not be discussed in this paper.⁵ We are only attempting here to bring out some of the major findings as they reflect on the problem of "employability."

The results of the ratings are as follows: (Notice, for no characteristic does the range of scores extend the entire length of the

⁴ Yule, G. U. *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, Charles Griffin and Company, Limited, London, p. 115, 1927.

⁵ The "corrected score" as this formula is named was devised by Dr. Robert F. Steadman of Syracuse University, takes into consideration a final question asked of the raters on the questionnaire. In answer to this question, the raters compared each of the characteristics in value of importance of obtaining work, that is, what is the relative value of Age, Experience, etc., in obtaining work. Each characteristic has its own scale value by means of the eleven-point scale. The formula is: $Sc_{corr} = (Sc_r - \frac{W}{R})$ where Sc_r equals the raw score to be corrected and Sc_{corr} equals the lowest raw score. W is the weight for the "characteristic" raw score and R is the range for the item.

E.S. The mean is seen as the best for each item. This means that the mean is taken into account

the means of the three items. Since it is impossible to consider all three items as equally important, the mean of the three items is used as a formula:

... $N_r M_r$

the number of raters and the item.⁴ This is followed by the letter A, which means that the few raters in the E.S. group are the most closely related to the similar means of the other rating groups.

It constitutes the "raw score" or "unweighted average" which is used in the final scoring process. The statistical formulas mentioned in this section are not being brought here to bring out the meaning of the scores as they reflect the "expectancy."

The scores are as follows: The range of the length of the

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formula is named after the headman of Syracuse University. After consideration a final formula was chosen for the questionnaire. The raters compared each other's importance of objective and relative value of work. Each characteristic is rated by means of the formula:

$S_{corr} = (S_r - S_{avg}) / S_{avg}$

raw score to be
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eleven-point scale. For each characteristic there is a range of scores different from the range of any of the other characteristics.

Age: The score for this characteristic is highest for the item "26-30 years," 8.9; it is lowest for the years "71 on," 0.6. For the

Unemployment The highest score for this characteristic is for the item "0-3 months of unemployment," 8.3. The scores begin to drop rapidly until the item "10-11 months" is reached, 5.0. From 1 year to 7 years or more of unemployment there is a steady but

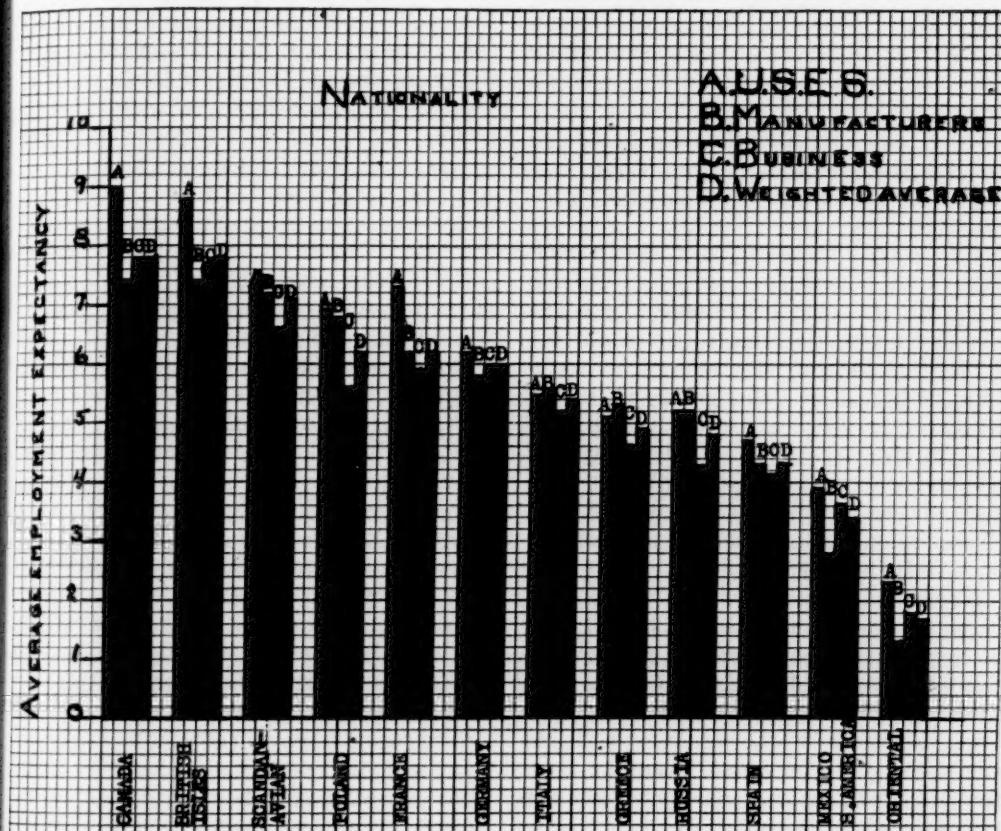


FIGURE 1. Average Employment Expectancy by Nationality

group "18-20" the score is moderately high. It increases rapidly and mounts to its peak "26-30." From this point it begins to decrease.

Experience: The score for this group is lowest for "no experience," 2.1. The scores increase rapidly as experience reaches 1-2 years, 7.4. After ten years the experience rating becomes slightly lower, 8.2. Experience indicates the amount of time spent in a job or jobs, for which some specific knowledge or skill is a requisite.

slower decrease of scores. Unemployment here means the period of time elapsing from the loss of an individual's last private employment to the time he is rated.

National Origin. (See Figure 1): Aside from American Born,⁶ Canadians and those born in the British Isles have the highest

⁶ "American" as a Nationality was not included in the original questionnaire but by the scoring method mentioned in footnote #5, it was corrected for. This was done so that each characteristic would have a score.

score, 7.8. Scandinavians follow with 6.9; Polish, French, and Germans have approximately the same scores. The lowest scores go to oriental countries, which score 1.7.

Dependency: Married with dependents have the greatest chances of employment, 8.8. Next are single people with dependents, 7.9. A single person without any dependents is preferred to the married individual whose spouse is working with scores of 6.1 and 5.4 respectively.

Race: The highest score of 9.7 is obtained for the item "white"; Negro, Indian, and yellow are all low scores, 2.8, 3.2, 1.8 respectively.

Citizenship: There is a rapid and constant drop from "American Born" 9.4, through "naturalized" 8.0, and "first papers" 5.4. The alien has a low expectancy rating of 2.1

Physical Defects: With the exception of "normal health" all other scores are understandably low. For example a person with "weight abnormality" would have a score of 4.3, and vision defect 4.0. The lowest score goes to the person who has syphilis, .09. These are only a few examples of the many under this characteristic.

Education: A person with a technical or business school training has the best chances of employment, the scores being 8.8 respectively. The college graduate runs a close second of obtaining work in industry. The lowest score goes to the person who has not completed grammar school. There are intermediate scores between college graduate and grammar school incompletes.

Wages: The person who was earning \$26-\$30 in the last six months prior to making application for another job has the highest chances of being re-employed; his score for this one item would be 7.3. The scores decrease consistently for both higher and lower wages.

It should be noted here that the lowest weekly wage on the questionnaire was \$15.00. However, in practice we later found individuals who earned as low as \$5.00. A graph of these data was made to represent a continuous curve. It was then possible to extend our curve on the basis of a reasonable estimate, and in this way obtain scores by ex-

trapolation. The method used was to extend the curve by establishing points proportional to the two lowest points on the curve.

Prison Record: For all those who have prison records the expectancy scores are low for this item. A person who had a jail sentence for a misdemeanor has a score of 4.1. Repeated felonies and repeated Federal Offenses have scores of 1.6 and 0.6 respectively.

Termination of Work: If a person was "laid off" he has the highest chances of being rehired, 7.6. While if a person "quit" his chances are lower for this one item with a score of 6.2. If one is "fired" he has the lowest chances of being rehired as far as this one item is concerned, with a score of 3.1.

Sex: Males have a higher chance of employment than females with expectancy scores of 8.1 and 6.5, respectively.

Personality: There are 28 items included under this characteristic. Some of these are: alert, 9.8; cannot speak English, 1.0; expresses self well, 9.0; pleasant, 8.9; neat clean clothes, 8.7; sluggish, 1.9; dirty clothes, 2.4; and grouchy, 2.5.

Home Conditions: If a person has a good reputation he gets the highest score for this particular item, 9.4. If he is known to drink considerably, he gets the lowest score, 1.6. If his home is known to be dirty that person would have an expectancy score for this one item of 2.8.

The construction of a scale is an academic exercise until something can be told of its predictive value. Since this could only be done by actual test, the next step was to put the scale into use. The actual application of the test to individuals unemployed at the present time was, of course, useless from a predictive point of view, since without following these individuals over long periods of time there would be no means of measuring the fulfillment of the prediction.

However, a satisfactory field of application was found in the case records of the Onondaga County Welfare Department. A date had to be found that would allow ample time to follow the employment history of an individual. January 1, 1939, was chosen because at that time case loads were mounting and this welfare load (7,500 cases) would

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offer a wide selection of individuals in terms of degree of employability. All cases used were active on the above date. A 3% random sample was taken of this case load. Two hundred and six individuals were rated as of January 1, 1939, on the basis of the case record information. In other words the scores of the 206 individuals were precisely the scores they would have had if our rating scale had been applied in 1939. Cases which did not yield definite information for that date were rejected.

Every job held by an individual since January, 1939, was recorded for each of the 206 individuals up to May 1, 1942 (the month in which we were working out this relationship). W.P.A. employment was considered as half employment since the worker is in a job but the job is not a result of employer selection. Obviously, our employment criterion was the number of months the individual was employed between January 1, 1939, and May 1, 1942, a period of 40 months.

The Pearson Coefficient of correlation between the scores for the 206 individuals as of January 1, 1939, and the number of months they were employed was found to be $r = +.72$, S.E. $\pm .03$. The Scale was divided into three parts or groups. Group I, consisted of the first twelve characteristics (age, experience, unemployment, nationality, citizenship, wages, termination of work, sex, religion, dependency, race, and education), which are based on factual information. "Home conditions" and "personality" (Group II) are characteristics defined on the questionnaire, for the most part, in terms of observable items. However, in themselves, these characteristics do not have the objectivity of Group I. The remaining two characteristics, "physical defects" and "prison record" although describing factual material are negative in effect. These two characteristics together were considered as Group III.

Coefficients of correlation for the scores of each group, separately, and the employment criterion were obtained as follows: employment criterion and Group I, $r = +.61$, S.E. $\pm .04$; and Group II, $r = .45$, S.E. $\pm .06$; and Group III, $r = +.49$, S.E. $\pm .05$. The

employment criterion correlated with Group I plus Group II yielded a coefficient of $r = +.66$, S.E. $\pm .04$ and as previously stated the total score (Group I, plus Group II, plus Group III), a coefficient of $r = +.72$, S.E. $\pm .03$.

The possibility existed that the groups tested overlapping or duplicating factors and the correlation was due to the inter-relationship of the three groups. For this reason partial correlations of the 1st and 2nd order were obtained and indicated that the relationship of the group scores and employment continued to be of significance while the inter-group relationships proved negligible.

The multiple coefficients resulting from the cumulative effect of the three groups and employment was $R_{1.234} = +.73$, in which the first variable (X_1) was the employment criterion; the second variable (X_2) was Group I; the third variable (X_3) was Group II; and the fourth variable (X_4) Group III.

Norms were established for prediction by the scores. The interpretation of the scores are as follows: those rated with scores above 85.0, have excellent chances of employment; from 75.0 to 84.9, good chances of employment; from 65.0 to 74.9, fair chances of employment; from 55.0 to 64.9, below average chances of employment; 45.0 to 54.9 poor chances of employment; 44.9 and below, as very poor chances of employment.

So impressed was the Onondaga County Public Welfare Commissioner with our findings that 5000 forms of the scale were printed and were to be applied to the Onondaga County Case Load as of January, 1943.

However, along about this time the scale was criticized from the point of view, that if we included such characteristics as race, religion and nationality, the scale could be considered as discriminatory. These characteristics were then omitted but only after the scale had been retested for its validity without these characteristics. We found that the exclusion of these characteristics did not injure the predictive value of the scale too greatly because their weight in the total score was not large. However, we do feel that, in the final analysis, the inclusion of

these characteristics is not a fault of the scale but an acceptance, for predictive purposes, of factors affecting employability. Their exclusion would seem unrealistic especially since changes in scale construction cannot be considered to alter employer selection.

In January of 1943, the Scale was admin-

istered to the individuals with "excellent" scores would be the first to disappear from the diminishing case load, the "good" would be next, etc.; (2) proportionately, there would be an increasingly high percent of individuals with "poor" and "very poor" scores, although as employment increased, the "very poor" scores would exceed the

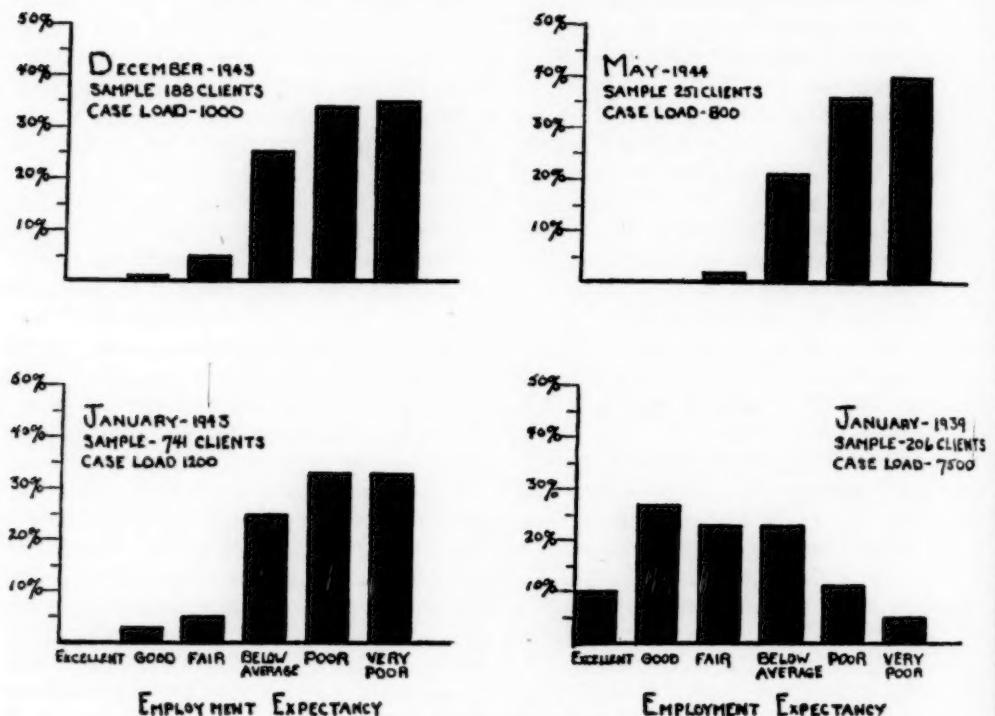


FIGURE 2. Scale in Action

istered to the Welfare Department's Home Relief Case Load of 1200 cases. At this time, a sampling (741 scores) was taken by the writer. It was found that there were still people with "excellent" chances of employment (according to the Scale) on the relief rolls (1%), in spite of the manpower shortage. There were higher percentages in gradation, of "good," "fair," "below average," "poor" and "very poor" individuals.⁷

For purposes of demonstration, we predicted that if the relief rolls dropped because of higher employment the following would

"poor" (the converse of this prediction would of course be true should the case load increase).

In December of 1943, another sampling (10%, or 188 scores) of the same scored individuals was taken. At this time the case load had dropped to 1000 cases. We discovered no "excellent" scores, a smaller percentage of "good" scores, no change in the middle scores, but an increased percentage of "poor" and "very poor" scores. This is, of course, what we had expected.

By May, 1944 the case load had been reduced to 800 cases; 251 of the scored individuals were used as a sample. This

⁷ Figure 2. Scale in Action, will greatly facilitate understanding this and the following discussion.

ith "excellent" disappear from "good" would onately, there gh percent of "very poor" ent increased, ld exceed the

time we found no "excellent" scores, no "good" scores, a smaller percentage of "fair" scores, a slightly smaller percentage of "below average," but a much increased percentage of "poor" scores, and an even larger increase in the percent of "very poor."

There is no question but that our original prediction had been a correct one and that an individual's chance of employment was measurable.

It must be pointed out here that none of those people who left the relief rolls for private jobs were referred for employment on the basis of the Scale. The Scale was kept strictly for prediction. Our main object is to show that individuals are accepted for private employment in a definite score order. In other words, individuals present varying degrees of employability.

We found that no particular item of a characteristic in itself is the factor which will determine a person's chances of employment, but it is the sum total of all items of the various characteristics which finally settles that individual's employment chances.

The Scale should be of value to a welfare department not only from the planning aspect but also in the evaluation of the individual client. For the social worker there should be a definite challenge in the client with a high score who does not find employment. Even in times of little employment, the individual with a score of 85 or over should not remain on relief very long.

It is possible that greater care should be exercised in "made work" certification. It is our feeling that persons with extremely high scores should never be certified, because the wisdom of encouraging this group in accepting any form of relief is questionable. This would not necessarily cause a lessening in the quality of public works labor because it must be remembered that the Employment Expectancy Rating Scale is not based on merit. There is no certainty that an indi-

vidual with a low score will make a poor employee, nor can anyone be sure that a high scoring individual will make a good employee. The individual with a high score is merely one who is more likely to be hired according to employers' own statements.

Another use of the scale would be in an employment agency. It would be possible, by means of the scale to determine which of the applicants they can easily place on jobs as jobs become available. More effort is needed in the placement of low scored individuals. If this group is to be placed at all they must be repeatedly sent out for interviews. This last is important because it must be remembered that the score is obtained from a scale on which there never was complete agreement on the part of employers. While the majority of the employers would reject a particular low scored individual, nevertheless, the very fact that he has a low score indicates that his employment is not hopeless but merely difficult to obtain.

A survey of the labor resources of a community could probably be made from a combination of the scores in a welfare department plus the scores of job applicants in the U.S.E.S. office. This of course, would have to be interpreted as labor resources in terms of what the employers want. The actual labor force might be considerably higher than such a survey would indicate. However, from the standpoint of the employer interested in knowing what the community can offer him in terms of what he considers acceptable, it would be extremely useful.

Finally, for future study, a good problem would be to construct a scale in terms of specific occupations rather than on a general employment basis. This would unquestionably have great value in the field of vocational guidance. In order to avoid a questionnaire of formidable length, it would be necessary to form the scale for only one or two occupations at a time.

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THE CASTE SYSTEM OF INDIA

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Central College

I. WHAT ARE THE ESSENTIALS OF THE SYSTEM?

1. *Endogamy.* The Caste system is a hierarchy of endogamous groups that individuals enter only by birth. A caste differs from a clan or sib in being endogamous and recognizing various ranks. It differs from a class in its strict enforcement of permanent endogamy within caste groups.

The largest enumeration of castes was in the 1901 *Census* which listed "2,378 main castes and tribes" (No. 1, 537, 557) some of which in turn are divided into endogamous subcastes of which the Brahmins are said to have 800. All ancient occupations used to be organized on a caste basis, even those now considered anti-social. The *Census* speaks of 4,500,000 persons belonging to castes and tribes "whose hereditary occupation is crime of one kind or another—theft, burglary, highway robbery, or even assassination, combined in many instances with prostitution."

2. *Compelling religious sanctions.* The caste system of India differs from the class systems of other countries mainly in being invested with the mighty sanctions of the ancient Hindu religion, as is evidenced by the very name given to the system, *varna ashrama dharma*. *Varna* means color, *ashrama* may be translated religious discipline, while *dharma* covers religio-social righteousness, obligations and mores. The families of a caste often have a common name and occupation. To be a good Hindu a man may believe anything or nothing but he must fulfill his caste obligations. Orthodox Hinduism prohibits him from marrying his child to a person of another caste, from eating and drinking with an outsider, from eating unfit or unclean food, from touching an Outcaste or letting his shadow fall upon him, and from following an unsuitable occupation. A villager's failure to observe minutely all the taboos and elaborate ceremonial rules usually leads to his being boycotted by his fellow

caste-men as to marriage and food, and sometimes as to companionship, drink and tobacco. Even the village artisans will not deign to serve him. Until a few decades ago no strict Hindu might cross the "black waters" of the ocean with impunity. To be received back into caste he had to make atonement by swallowing a pellet of the five products of the sacred cow, including the dung and urine.

In the authoritative *Bhagavadgita*, when Arjuna hesitates to slay his distant relatives, his divine charioteer Lord Krishna reminds him that he is a Kshatriya (warrior) and that he must never swerve from his caste *dharma*:

"Better to do the duty of one's caste,
Though bad and ill-performed and fraught with
evil,
Than undertake the business of another,
However good it be. For better far
Abandon life at once than not fulfill
One's own appointed work."¹

3. *Hierarchy based on birth and reincarnation.* The caste system recognizes an indefinite number of groups of different ranks, each one standing on the shoulders of the castes below it. Every aspect of the life of an orthodox Hindu hinges on what the Westerner calls the accident of birth. His domestic ceremonies and customs, his home and temple worship, his circle of friends and relatives, his occupation and trade union, all depend upon the level of the group into which he was born. His pay, his perquisites, and benefits to be received in times of distress are also largely determined by birth.

Hinduism lends weighty support to the hierarchy of caste by declaring that a man's caste is the exact index of his soul's behavior and piety in previous births. If born a Brahman, the so-called "pinnacle of perfec-

¹ *Gita*, 3, 35.

tion," "lord of creation," his soul has been scrupulous in its observances and ceremonials during countless earlier lives. But if he is born a lowly Sudra, he has not fulfilled his caste *dharma*, while if he is born a despised Outcaste, that is convincing proof of the foulness of his deeds in previous incarnations.

4. *Social-economic interdependence.* The far reaching mutual relationships at the heart of the caste system are well brought out by Dr. W. H. Wiser whose minute daily observations during his several months of residence during each of five years in Karimpur in the United Provinces are summed up in his excellent study from which I quote:

In a Hindu village in North India, each individual has a fixed economic and social status established by his birth in a given caste. If he is born into a carpenter family, he finds himself related by blood to carpenters exclusively. . . . The men in all these families earn their livelihood through the carpentry trade, sometimes supplemented by agriculture. Each carpenter has his own clientele (or *jajman*), which has become established through custom and which continues from generation to generation. . . . This relationship once established cannot be broken except by the carpenter himself who may choose to sell his rights to another carpenter. . . . The relationship fixes responsibilities both on the carpenter and on the one whom he serves. The carpenter during the sowing season must remove and sharpen the plow point once or twice a week. During the harvest he must keep sickles sharp and renew handles as often as demanded. He must be ready to repair a cart whenever called upon by a customer, or to make minor repairs on a customer's house. In exchange he receives at each harvest 28 pounds of grain for every plow owned by his client. Similar relationships of mutual service exist between practically all the 24 castes of the village of Karimpur. In return for services rendered, payments in cash or kind are made daily, monthly, semi-annually, or on special occasions. Even more important are the various concessions granted, usually without payment: residence site, rent-free land, funeral-pyre plot, food for family and fodder for animals, clothing, timber, cattle dung fuel, credit facilities, supplementary employment, use of raw materials, tools, implements or draft animals, hides, casual leave and aid in litigation. These rights are valued so highly that many a villager

prefers them to a steady cash income from a neighboring mill.²

In large cities such custom-fixed interdependence has been breaking down.

5. *The Outcaste substratum.* The cultured Hindu has his menial and polluting drudgery performed for him by forty to seventy millions called Outcastes, Depressed Classes, or Untouchables. Divided into 280 sections often struggling one against the other, they are mostly descended from the ancient races who inhabited India before the invasion of the Dravidian-speaking Mediterraneans and the Aryan peoples. Later they accepted servitude on the lowest fringes of Hindu society. They commonly live outside the village in unspeakable filth, eking out their existence by menial and polluting labor. Carrion is the only meat that millions of them can obtain. In dry areas they find it difficult to find water for bathing, and even for drinking. They sacrifice animals to appease the dreaded demons and demonesses that dominate their dreary lives. Their touch, their very presence is thought to contaminate others. Caste mores have held them down in abysmal ignorance and degradation on the assumption that they suffer justly for their vicious deeds in previous lives. The 1931 *Census* spoke of their being debarred from the use of tax-supported roads, reservoirs, wells and schools, from temples, burning grounds and other religious institutions, and from private tea shops, hotels and theatres. In some places such prohibitions are now being relaxed.

II. WHAT FACTORS MOLDED THE CASTE SYSTEM?

Many studies of caste have suffered from the single-cause fallacy. Ibbetson proposed his theory of the tribal origin of caste. Risley thought that caste was caused by race and hypergamy (marrying women into higher groups), while Nesfield and Dahlmann propounded occupation as the chief reason for its origin, and Senart said that the family worship of the gens was the cause of caste.

² *The Hindu Jajmani System*, Lucknow, Lucknow Publishing House, 1936, pp. 5-6.

There is an element of truth in each of these theories but none is complete in itself. We cannot make the generalization that there is any single cause for caste. Nor can we assume that the entire caste system took definite shape at one particular time and was not later modified. Rather we can trace many diverse factors working together with various potency at different times and places.

1. *Food and occupational taboos.* The 1931 *Census* argues that "the essential ingredients which made the growth of caste possible were of pre-Aryan origin, without them the development of caste would not and could not have taken place."³ Caste is weakest in North India and especially in the Panjab where the Aryan racial element is strongest. The animistic Nagas of Assam are modern representatives of very ancient aboriginal tribes. These people taboo alien food on the ground that it is connected with the strangers' soul matter and thus has a dangerous magical effect on the Nagas who eat it. Other unassimilated tribes in inaccessible parts of Assam have taboos against visitors following their former handicrafts since they would offset the logical mana or magic. "The sentiments and beliefs on which caste is based presumably go back to the totemistic Proto-Australoid and Austro-Asiatic inhabitants of pre-Dravidian India, and we may conceive of their becoming effective in contact with Dravidian-speaking strangers bringing new crafts from the West. Hence would arise local taboos against certain crafts and persons, taboos which tended to become tribal and to erect rigid divisions between communities."⁴ The same authority regards these taboos as the main source for the untouchability of the Outcastes.

2. *Tribal cohesion.* The aboriginal tribes, as they became accessible, gradually entered the religious and social systems of the more civilized peoples with whom they came in contact. In doing so they retained their original unity based on socio-religious mores and folkways. The tribe thus became an endoga-

mous caste. This slow process of assimilation may be seen in various stages of development in different parts of India. The fact that so many of the old customs have been retained is due to the Hindu's spirit of compromise and tolerance of strange ideas and practices. These two factors may easily have been at work for centuries before the advent of the Aryan. They have certainly been effective ever since.

3. *The Aryan desire for racial purity.* When the Aryans entered India from the northwest during the second millennium before Christ, they were divided into three social classes similar to those of their Iranian kinsmen: the ruling or military, the priestly, and the Aryan commonality, but it was possible for a person to pass from one class to another. The Aryans, wishing to preserve their fair color, seem to have prohibited intermarriage with the aborigines not long after their invasion. To this day the higher castes generally have lighter skins and narrower noses than the castes lower on the scale, though many North Indian Outcastes are fair.

4. *Guild perpetuation.* The existence of different cultures side by side and the gradual development of industry brought division of labor. The Aryans with better paying occupations protected the interests of their children by apprenticeship combined with guild endogamy, and forced on some of India's previous inhabitants heavy manual labor, scavenging and working with the hides and carcasses of dead cattle. Those who were compelled to carry on such demeaning occupations were prohibited from marrying those whose work was honored. The desire to perpetuate the guild and its rights is still a factor that strengthens caste in those places that have been little touched by the forces of modern life.

5. *Priestly supremacy and religious dogmas.* As the Aryans came into India the priesthood was admitting recruits from other classes, and was subordinate to the military class. Before very long the Brahmins, by gaining a monopoly of magic, learning, professional work and statecraft, gained the supremacy. But about 550 B.C. a Kshatriya

³ Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 436-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*

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prince, Gautama, founded Buddhism, which was accepted by other warrior nobles and many commoners and became the state religion. It opposed the caste system by emphasizing virtue rather than birth as the means of salvation. The Buddhists struggled for twelve centuries with the Brahmins, who regained the ascendancy only after the Kshatriyas had been bled white by continual warfare and after the Brahmins had accepted elements of Buddhist philosophy. The Brahmins imposed their control over state and religion, and promulgated dogmas to perpetuate their supremacy. For example, the great Hindu lawgiver Manu, following earlier writers, proclaimed as one of his basic doctrines that the resplendent One had assigned distinctive occupations and duties to each of four great orders: to the Brahmins who issued from his mouth, teaching, receiving alms and sacrificing for others; to the Kshatriyas who sprang from his arms, protection of the people; to the Vaisyas who came from his thighs, trading, money lending and land cultivation; and to the Sudras who were made of his feet, service of the other three orders.⁵ This clever scheme outlined what the Brahmins wanted every one to accept, but it probably never accurately corresponded to actual conditions, even when it was elaborated by theories about hundreds of other castes springing from unlawful marriages between the four great orders. Below these a fifth order of Outcastes was later added to do the menial and scavenging work of the Sudras and the others. Fiction though these teachings were, they were piously believed and gave strong religious backing to the maintenance of caste barriers throughout the ages. The imitation of religious ideas has been infectious. On account of their stabilizing effect on a heterogeneous people, the vested interests of the priests have for centuries been supported by the civil powers.

Holding an established monopoly of teaching and priesthood, the Brahmins kept enlarging upon the necessity of elaborate rituals to be performed by themselves. New

genealogies and fables of the origin of new castes were ingeniously fabricated and quickly accepted. Armed with one of these and some new rituals, many a subcaste has ventured forth to claim full status as an endogamous caste, with stereotyped ideas of its own superiority. In no land did group snobbery become such a basic and permanent principle of life as in India. The lower caste groups, being ill treated by the higher castes, wanted some one on whom they could project their spite and contempt and thus raise their own social prestige. This made them join in walling off the Outcastes as despicable and untouchable.

6. *Migration.* As groups moved to new places, they were soon isolated from their relatives, since travel by foot or oxcart was the only means of keeping in touch. Their food, work, customs and rituals gradually changed through the years. These variations gave rise to new caste groups.

III. TO WHAT EXTENT IS CASTE BEING MODIFIED IN MODERN TIMES?

1. *The British hands off policy tends to produce gradual change.* After defeating the French, the East India Company took over the remnants of the Mogul Empire at bargain prices. The Company exercised the political power needed to maintain law and order, its trade with India, and its exploitation of the country's fabulous wealth. Except for abolishing the Thugs (clever gangsters inflamed by religion) and the practice of Suttee (the immolation of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres), the British did little to modify India's religious and social customs. Queen Victoria in 1857 promised her new subjects complete religious neutrality and freedom of worship. Like their predecessors the Great Moguls, the British have sought out and strengthened the existing vested interests as the best means of preserving law and order. The collectors of land taxes whom they found have been elevated into Zamindars and Maharajahs. Men at the top of the caste hierarchy have been confirmed in their prerogatives and powers over the destinies of their fellows. The sacred laws and customs of the Hindus are largely

⁵ Book I, lines 87-80.

recognized in civil law. Under such conditions many of the customs connected with caste continue to flourish. Some exceptions are that the civil statutes (for example, Removal of Caste Disabilities Act) and courts sometimes regulate marriage, and that the criminal courts, instead of the caste councils, decide cases of assault, adultery and rape. In spite of the legalization of intercaste marriages by the Special Marriage Act of 1872, these have never become numerically important.

2. *Many minor rules are losing hold under the harsh impact of modern industrial civilization.* For strategic and commercial purposes the British early established a good system of highways and railroads. The new transportation facilities, especially crowded busses and third-class train compartments jammed to the doors and ceilings, throw together millions of people of all castes and of no caste, and leave little room for the niceties of ceremonial purity.

City factories and slums also force people of various castes close together. Modern machinery is destroying the old crafts and providing unheard of ways to earn a livelihood. Occupational mobility and movement from the compact ancestral village are breaking down those caste rules which do not concern marriage. A new money economy is destroying age-old customs and offering novel chances to win social recognition.

About a century ago the British started schools with English as the medium of instruction to train clerks and subordinate officials. Secularist teachings, scientific questionings and ideals of individual freedom soon took root and brought forth the fruit of criticism of the ancient mores. The telegraph, the newspaper, and the radio have also rapidly spread fresh concepts and standards throughout India. Professional men have come to disobey dietary and commensal restrictions on activities outside their homes, while their illiterate wives and mothers at home have scrupulously observed the sacred traditions. The sweeping advance of women's education in recent years is now accelerating the tempo of change.

The notion that a person is defiled by a

lower caste man coming in contact with him is no longer universally held by Hindus. Some castes that were formerly split in two by migration are now tending to amalgamate.

People who have crossed the deep ocean are almost never required to make atonement by swallowing the five products of the cow. Taboos against some foods and against accepting food and water from persons of other castes are also gradually being weakened under the weight of modern conditions. Such changes are taking place most rapidly in city-dominated areas among English educated and business people.

3. *Caste organizations are being definitely strengthened.* At the same time that modern transportation, communication and education are weakening the prohibitions regarding food and drink, they are also tending to strengthen other features of caste. Millions of devotees jam the buses and trains every year to visit distant sacred places they once could not reach. These expanded mass pilgrimages, the printed page, the radio, popular education and keen competition for jobs have worked to strengthen caste solidarity and the influence of caste customs regarding marriage.

Ghurye claims that the studies of caste in the *Indian Census* have strengthened the caste system. The author of the 1931 *Census* argues against this view, but admits that every census "gives rise to a pestiferous deluge of representations, accompanied by highly problematical histories, asking for recognition of some alleged fact or hypothesis. . . . As often as not, deterrent action is requested against the corresponding hypothesis of other castes. . . . Its standing is to be obtained by standing upon others rather than with them."⁷⁶

The first caste conference was that of the Kayasths or accountants in 1887. Since then hundreds of castes have met and organized themselves to perpetuate and extend their special privileges, to raise their social status by reforms, to provide for the education of their needy and deserving children, to help their poor, and to petition for larger employ-

*Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 433.

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was that of the 1887. Since then it and organized and extend their their social status the education of children, to help for larger employ-

ment in government service. Most provinces have been forced by such pressures to pass rules that a definite proportion of the posts in the various services shall be filled from members of different castes, provided that they have the minimum qualifications. Sometimes even those who have failed in the examinations are admitted to office.

Castes having similar occupations and those residing in different parts of a language area are consolidating to secure greater social and political power. Together with this broader basis of caste life and endogamy goes the claim to higher rank in the caste hierarchy. For example, the Kamars called themselves Kshatriyas in 1921 and Brahmins in 1931. Some outcaste leather workers of the United Provinces have returned themselves as Rajputs (princely warriors). Such social ambitions have given rise to new forms of inter-caste competition. Each caste, fearing that some other caste will gain an advantage over it, seeks to build up its educational, economic and religious position and to tear down its hated rivals.

4. *The Outcastes' lot is being slowly improved.* Ever since the beginning of the modern missionary movement, most Christians have treated these people as human beings and children of the Heavenly Father. They have offered them medical, educational and economic service on the same basis as anyone else. Outcastes joining Protestant Churches have lost the stigma with which they had formerly been stamped, even in the eyes of most Hindus. Since 1906 liberal Hindus have had their own missions to provide these exploited people with education and work, to remedy their social disabilities and to preach to them. In recent years the Government has issued rules that all public wells, roads, railways, schools, post offices and other public buildings be opened to the Depressed Classes on equal terms with other people, but the enforcement of these rules rests upon local public opinion, which is often hostile. Not many years ago the only schooling allowed to Outcaste children was what they could get as they stood outside the school door. If they were admitted inside, the caste parents would withdraw their chil-

dren. But between 1917 and 1926 the number of India's Outcaste pupils rose from 195,000 to 667,000. The latter figure being barely over one percent of the Outcaste population. With thousands of the Depressed Classes being admitted to the franchise on property or literacy qualifications, and with their special representation in the legislatures, their votes are becoming an important political prize. This fact tends to improve their treatment by caste-men.

The lasting solution of the problem rests, not with missions or with Government, but rather with the Depressed Classes themselves and with the Hindu majority. Many Outcaste groups have organized themselves for their educational, social and political advancement. One of the best developed of these movements has been that started during the last century among three related groups of outcaste origin in Travancore, Malabar and South Kanara by the great religious leader, Sri Narayana Guruswami. He united them into a single Union for the Protection of the Sri Narayana religion, which has its own temples and priests but worships in the orthodox Hindu fashion. A few years ago these same Izhuvars not only were deprived of temple entry but had to stay 325 feet from the Hindu temple at Guruvayur, though they were well to do and well educated. However, as a result of the passive resistance and suffering of nationalist Hindus, the state temples of Travancore were opened to all cleanly dressed Hindus. Temples in the Madras Presidency have also been thrown open. Under Gandhi's inspiring leadership the National Congress has struggled hard and long to have the Untouchables admitted to the Hindu temples, on the ground that if this were conceded all other disabilities would in time disappear.

A number of years ago the national leader, Lajpat Rai wrote, "National decline has its origin in the oppression of others. If we Indians desire to achieve national self-respect and dignity, we should open our arms to our unfortunate brothers and sisters of the Depressed Classes."⁷ More recently Gandhi

⁷ *The Arya Samaj*, p. 232.

writes, "This untouchability will soon be a thing of the past. Hindu society has become conscious of the hideous wrong done to man by this sinful doctrine. Hundreds of Hindu workers are devoting themselves to the uplift of these suppressed classes. . . . The masses give intellectual assent to the reformer's plea; but are slow to grant equality in practice to their Outcaste brethren."⁸

IV. WHAT WERE THE OUTCOMES WHEN INDIA WAS RELATIVELY STATIC?

An evaluation of India's caste system depends entirely on whether we look at it from the standards of a static or of a dynamic society. Until about a century ago, India's life was largely static, though not so stagnant as the self-satisfied West has contemptuously assumed.

1. *Caste furnished a recognized pattern for numberless competing groups to dwell side by side with little or no strife.* For at least 5000 years India was the meeting point for the most diverse racial strains, as we know from the recent Indus Valley discoveries. Geographical, linguistic and cultural factors made for the widest variety. This long period saw many wars between local kings, but few acute conflicts between different social groups, on account of the restraining hand of caste. It often served as a *Pax Indica* enabling the most heterogeneous peoples to live contentedly side by side in recognized, stable relationships. Not war but clever compromise was the desire of the Brahman priests who dominated the Hindu caste system after their overthrow of Buddhism about 650 A.D.

2. *Caste and its religious basis gave strong continuity to Hindu life and learning.* Sir Valentine Chirol speaks of "the Hindu's fine conception of the continuity of the family as one unbroken chain, sanctified by common worship, which stretches back to remote ancestors and forward to all the future generations."⁹ This was one of the factors making it possible to preserve the high contributions of Indian culture in spite of Moslem

incursions, repeated wars, famines and catastrophes. Most of these traditions were linked with religion and maintained by the Brahmins. On this point, R. P. Masani says, "The mystic and miraculous hymns and liturgies had to be preserved and handed down from father to son by word of mouth. Their sanctity depended not merely on their words or general sense, but on every accent rightly placed. There was need for men who could specialize in the study of the texts, comprehend the symbolic meaning of the ritual, and assist in the perpetuation of this textual tradition."¹⁰ A whole literature of deep philosophic insight and great beauty was thus memorized and transmitted orally from father to son for many centuries. This would have been impossible without specialization and very difficult unless that specialization had been hereditary.

3. *A wide range of beautiful arts and crafts were preserved through father-son apprenticeship.* In the Indus Valley sites inhabited fifty centuries ago, almost every household had its hand spindles. Archeologists have ascertained that these people were the first to spin and weave fiber from the real cotton plant. *Sindon*, the Greek word for cotton, is named after the Sind or Indus Valley. They and the Romans admiringly imported the fabrics made by the weaving castes of India. India's arts and crafts survived until they were destroyed by the competition of Western machine goods during the past 150 years. With little population growth and almost stationary demand for the products of each craft the system of occupational endogamy supplied the number of workers needed in every craft. If there came to be excess of families in one village, they could move to a neighboring place.

4. *Within each caste grew up a firm group solidarity and sense of responsibility,* which lasted throughout the centuries, in spite of war and confusion. This close bond of kinship brought together socially the rich and poor members of a caste in the prolonged marriage and funeral rites and all other festivals and solemnities. In addition the

⁸ *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 145, No. 2, p. 181.

⁹ *India*, p. 25.

¹⁰ R. P. Masani, *The Legacy of India*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937, p. 128.

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wealthier members of a caste saw that the poorer did not starve, thus taking care of dependents and defectives and largely obviating the need of public charity. This system of relief worked fairly well except when the whole country-side was suffering from famine or epidemic, or in the case of the Outcastes and lower castes where all the members were poor and downtrodden. Class lines were never sharply drawn until modern times. As opposed to Western individualism and its frequently excessive mobility, Hinduism always exalted the static caste and the welfare of all its conformist members. Gandhi feels very keenly about this: "Free competition is excessive individualism, enabling the strong to exploit the weak, whether this is done within the same race, between capitalists and laborers, or among the colored races by the white man. This free competition is threatening India. Therefore I want to protect my country through a reformed caste system, removing untouchability and retaining the group loyalty and the hereditary craftsmanship of the castes."¹¹

5. *Caste status prevented personal choice and lessened maladjustment.* No problems arose of choosing occupation or career. Every man inherited his work from his father and continued it using the traditional methods and serving the ancestral patrons. Almost all women followed in their mothers' footsteps of ministering to husband and children. Friends and companions did not have to be carefully selected by the individual, but were decided for him by birth. A person did not have to struggle to make a niche for himself; his place was already made for him when he was born. In all these ways a person had none of the troubled effort of striking out and choosing for himself. His path was already determined for him. His status was clearly defined by birth and ancient custom. This hampered broad personality development, but at the same time obviated many conflicts and frustrations.

6. *The caste system involved unjust treatment of the Outcastes and some low-caste people.* The men at the top could command

servile obedience from the lowest castes, while all the groups at the bottom were deprived of human rights and made subordinate to higher groups. Men and women may have resented their misfortunes and hated their oppressors, but in a stable society ruled by the aged with their age-old ideas, injustice seemed part of a divinely established order. What could they do about their lot? They meekly resigned themselves to the fate written on their foreheads. Orthodox Hinduism, with its promises of rewards in future births for caste conformity in this birth, was truly "the opiate of the people," dulling the senses of the oppressed to their terrible degradation and lulling them into silent acquiescence. For centuries it produced the slave mentality, which Gandhi has blamed on the British.

V. WHAT ARE THE PRESENT OUTCOMES IN A DYNAMIC SOCIETY?

The intellectual, religious, political, and industrial revolutions, each of which in turn shook Europe to its foundations between the Renaissance and the present day, have all been telescoped together in India during scarcely more than a century. Save for inaccessible mountains and jungles, "the unchanging East," no longer exists. India is on the move. The leaven of Western ideas, discoveries and inventions is so powerfully at work in the lump of India's four hundred millions that no one can fully control the outcome. World War II is greatly expanding India's industries. The first major famine in thirty years is shaking India to its foundations. For these reasons the only accurate standard by which to measure the caste system at present is based on its outcomes in a society that is becoming more dynamic with every passing year.

1. *Recent changes are giving rise to extremely bitter inter-caste strife.* The old taboos that kept every one in the position where he was born are noticeably weakening, and no fresh controls are taking their place. Members of castes are branching out into occupations infringing on the prerogatives of other castes. Each caste seeks by all possible means to gain the ascendancy over the castes that used to be of equal or slightly superior

¹¹ Quoted in *National Christian Council Review*, December, 1937.

rank. Some caste councils obtain higher educational degrees and better paying jobs for their young men, while others increase their prestige by new prohibitions on diet. According to the former Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, a progressive Hindu, "the eternal struggle between caste and caste for social superiority has become a source of constant ill-feeling in these days. The human desire to help the members of one's caste leads to nepotism, heart-burning and consequent mutual distrust."

2. *Latent injustices are rendered patent by new social ideals and the acids of modernity.* The theory that everyone in the village would be served by every one else, and in turn would equally serve him through his special occupation, does not correspond to the facts. The interrelationships are extremely asymmetrical, the Brahmans, the big landlords, the grain dealers, and the money lenders (sometimes the same people) being scrupulously served but not giving commensurate service. At least they do little or nothing that costs them exertion or loss of prestige. At the other end of the scale the lowest castes and the Outcastes are badly maltreated and forced into most degrading servitude.

3. *The Outcastes are feeling most bitterly the inhumanities heaped upon them.* For centuries they have been constantly subject to the mental and moral degradation of serfdom. Direct overt reaction would be least harmful to their mental health, but this course is usually blocked by disadvantages real or imagined. The direct covert reaction of resentment is extremely common, but may be completely concealed from the members of the oppressing castes. At other times the impulse to strike back is forced into some indirect channel. This whole matter has been ably treated by Dr. J. C. Heinrich in his *Psychology of a Suppressed People*.

In recent years the Kallars of South India, whose caste occupation was robbery, attempted to enforce the following among other rules upon the Outcastes: "No males shall be allowed to wear clothes below the knees or above the hips. The men shall not use umbrellas and should not wear sandals.

Their children should not get themselves educated. The children should be asked only to tend the cattle of the Mirasidars (a class of landlords). Their men and women should work as slaves of the Mirasidars. They must sell away their own lands to Mirasidars at very cheap rates, and if they won't do so, no water will be allowed to them to irrigate their lands. Even if something is grown by the help of rain water, the crops should be robbed away when they are ripe for harvest." When the Outcastes disregarded these regulations, the caste men burned their huts, destroyed their property and looted their livestock.¹²

Restrictions of this kind used to be enforced as part of the unwritten mores, but now in many cases they are no longer carried into effect. But serfdom for debt continues, the debt being passed on from father to son. In Travancore several branches of the Depressed Classes must never approach nearer than forty or eighty feet of a caste person, and must always call out before they enter a main road. The Mahars of Western India wrote to the British Secretary of State, "We are sick of the bondage which the barbarism of Hindu customs imposes upon us. . . . We have long submitted to the Jaganaut of caste; we have for ages been crushed under its wheels. But we can no longer submit to the tyranny." Gandhi has said, "I consider untouchability to be a heinous crime against humanity. It is . . . an arrogant assumption of superiority. . . . It has suppressed vast numbers of the human race. . . . I know of no argument in favor of its retention."¹³ M. D. Altekar writes of the effects of injustice, "At present a sudden and terrific explosion of resentment is being witnessed all over the country. The outburst is so great that the political unity, laboriously built up for half a century by patriotic men, has been consumed in the twinkling of an eye."¹⁴

4. *Sacred traditions are stifling needed social progress.* At a time when social cus-

¹² *Census, 1931, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 485.*

¹³ *Young India, 1919-22, New York, Huebsch, 1924, p. 482.*

¹⁴ *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 145, No. 2, p. 186.*

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toms must change rapidly to keep pace with modern business and technology, the caste system with its cramping restrictions prevents men from making adequate adjustment. The system is one of the means by which the gerontocracy maintains its power. Everyone is required to remain within the caste status in which he was born. No matter how little he has to occupy him, a man may not engage in the occupation of another caste. If a caste man has insufficient land, he cannot weave or work for hire out of fear that he will lower his status. Constructive social experimentation has been seriously hampered by the divisive tendencies of caste exclusiveness and by the fatalism and the absorption in petty trifles brought about by caste. Mahatma Gandhi has this to say, "India is a country of nonsense. It is non-

sensical to parch one's throat with thirst when a kindly Mohammedan is ready to offer pure water to drink, and yet thousands of Hindus would sooner die of thirst than drink water from a Mohammedan household."

5. *Caste seriously restricts newly valued individual freedom.* For a man to take his place in modern society, a certain amount of liberty of action is necessary. But caste, with its multitudinous, burdensome regulations based on the accident of birth, hampers a person's freedom to experiment and even to lead his own life according to his better judgment. Rabindranath Tagore, world-famous poet, has said, "The regeneration of the Indian people, to my mind, directly and perhaps solely depends upon the removal of this condition of caste."

ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN FARMERS—INTERNATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL*

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IN AN ATTEMPT to answer the question of whether farmers are more "isolationist" than others the author has tried to use data from public opinion polls, voting behavior and resolutions passed by general farmers' organizations. These appear to be the only sources from which quantitative data are available and they do not yield precise conclusions.

From the hundreds of questions which have been asked by the American Institute of Public Opinion, *Fortune*, and the National Opinion Research Center all those which meet the two tests of usefulness for the study in hand have been culled: first, those which deal in any way with the conduct of the war, those which ask for responses about other nations, or which deal directly with cooperation between nations; second, all those which have been reported in such form

as to make possible segregation of farmers' or farming area responses from those of other occupational groups or from other than farming areas. An attempt has been made to assemble data from records of national elections, the voting behavior in Congress of representatives from farming areas, and the behavior of and resolutions passed by large general farmers' organizations.

INFORMATION FROM PUBLIC OPINION POLLS¹

In poll reports that do not segregate responses of farmers as an occupational group but which do present results by geographic regions—the East Central and West Central areas, in Gallup reports, and the East North Central and West North Central areas, in the *Fortune* reports—were used as probably best representing farmers' opinions. The South, though more dominantly rural than

* Paper originally read at the American Sociological Society Meeting, December 4, 1943, New York City and subsequently revised and reorganized.

¹ 80 poll questions which bore directly or indirectly on war or defense issues appeared from 1938 to 1943 were selected for analysis.

either of these areas, is not used because in many, if not all, instances it appeared to reflect a "solid South" rather than a farmer attitude toward public issues.² Unfortunately, the National Opinion Research Center, in its excellent March 1942 report on the "United States and a World Union After the War," neither reports farmers as an occupational group nor its findings by geographic regions. The same is true of all but two of its other reports. Unfortunately, also, *Fortune's* special study of farmers' opinions, reported in March, 1943, offers few comparisons between farmers' and others' attitudes. For these reasons the majority of the data used here are from the Gallup polls.

Six poll questions have secured comparative data on farmers' and others' opinions on the direct issue of international cooperation. Four times—in 1937, 1941, 1942 and 1943—Gallup asked for responses favorable or unfavorable to the issue of joining a League of Nations. In each case the report was by geographic regions and in each case one or the other or both farming areas registered a *smaller* percentage of favorable responses than did the Nation as a whole. In June 1943 he asked whether "the United States should take an active role in the post-war world," and "should we join with others in setting up an international police force after the war?" The affirmative response for the Nation was 80 percent; that for the West Central States 78 percent, and that for the East Central only 71 percent.³ *Fortune* reported in March 1943 on a multiple choice question which made possible a comparison of farmer responses with those of high school students and factory workers. Eliminating responses from high school students and adding the two responses most favorable to international cooperation the results were: Factory workers, 34.2 percent; farmers, 40.3 percent.

Data for opinions on defense and war issues should yield some understanding of

attitudes collateral to, if not bearing directly upon, the issue at hand. In September, October and November, 1939, Gallup asked eight defense or war questions. Only the first two, reported September 3, are presented here. One was, "If war breaks out in Europe do you think President Roosevelt should call a special session of Congress?" The National affirmative vote was 71 percent; that of the East Central area, 62 percent; and that of the West Central, 72 percent. The second question was, "Should Congress change the neutrality law so that the United States could sell war materials to England and France?" The national affirmative vote was 50 percent; the West Central 49 percent; the East Central only 42 percent.

In November 1940, *Fortune* reported responses to a multiple choice question with two possible favorable and two possible unfavorable choices. The two favorable choices were: "Declare ourselves allies and send supplies and even men if necessary," and "Declare ourselves allies to the extent of sending supplies and such equipment as planes and warships but never men." The affirmative national vote was 46.9 percent, that of the West North Central only 42.2 percent. In August 1941, this same agency reported on another multiple choice question, the last two possible choices of which were: "While at first it looked as though this was not our war, it now looks as though we should back England until Hitler is beaten," and "It is our war as well as England's, and we should have been in there fighting with her before this." The national vote in favor of these two combined choices was 53.7 percent, that of the East North Central only 42.3 percent. Thirty-five poll questions of this class were asked between January 1, 1940 and December 7, 1941. On three of them farmers were reported as an occupational group. In every such instance their responses were less favorable than were those of other occupational groups or those for the Nation as a whole. For the other 32 sets of responses, reported on a regional basis, in each case, one or the other, and in the majority of cases both, farming areas

² Elimination of such a large agricultural area as the South, while questionable, does not invalidate the testing of the type sources used in this analysis.

³ In these broad area data there is no way of separating farmer from nonfarmer opinion.

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There were five sets of responses to this same type of question after Pearl Harbor, three of which segregated the responses of farmers as an occupational group. One of the questions, reported by Gallup March 17, 1943, was, "Do you think we should or should not increase our armed forces to 11,000,000 men this year?" The national vote in favor of the increase was 43 percent; that of farmers only 29 percent. *Fortune* during that same month asked of farmers only, "Do you feel it is worthwhile to keep on fighting this war, or do you think it would be better to try to make peace, as things now stand?" A total of 85.7 percent of all farmers' responses were in favor of keeping on fighting. Responses concerning the draft and war plans showed farming areas equally favorable with others to ardently promoting war efforts. They were, however, conservative in their judgment about the necessity for an exceedingly large army.

Concerning war regulations there is a considerable difference between farmers' responses concerning regulations which interfere with old established work and living routines and all others. In August 1940, Gallup asked, "are you satisfied with the progress that the present administration is making in re-arming our country?" A total of 61 percent in the Nation, but only 37 percent in the East Central and 27 percent in the West Central, answered in the affirmative. In May 1941, he asked, "Do you think the law should be changed so that men between the ages 18 and 21 would be included in the draft, along with those from 21 to 35?" The national affirmative vote was only 51 percent, that of the West Central 53 percent, and that of the East Central 56 percent. Four polls on daylight-saving time in 1937, 1941, 1942 and 1943, whether the question as "only for the duration of the war," "in order to save electricity" or with no qualifications, received heavy negative responses from farmers. The same was true for the issue of blackouts.

In addition to this list of fairly definitely war-focused questions are a number which

have to do with regulation of labor unions, farm prices, and production; others which probably reflect moral attitudes; and a few which reflect attitudes toward cooperation with or trust of specific Nations. To all of these issues farmers are equally or more favorably inclined than other groups.

The drawing of any sure conclusions from poll returns on so broad and complex a problem as where will farmers stand on a proposition that the United States join an Association of Nations at the end of this war would probably not be justified. No set of poll results, nor all of them combined, furnish adequate analysis of the farmers' basic attitudes which may be expected to come into play when they are confronted with that important issue.

NATIONAL ELECTIONS' VOTING BEHAVIOR

Election returns yield less applicable data than do opinion polls. Records of national election returns for a number of periods in American history reveal the operation of some fairly clear-cut farmer publics but few of these publics were focused on purely international issues. In 1804, 1808, 1828, and 1896 farmers voted fairly solidly, in three of these cases on issues or candidates which definitely represented sectionalism or provincialism, but on none which represented these as opposed to internationalism.⁴

In 1916, the Democrats used "He kept us out of war" as a re-elect Wilson campaign slogan; in the 1920 national election the Democrats ardently espoused the cause of the League of Nations; and in 1924 Senator Robert LaFollette, Sr., an ardent isolationist, was one of the presidential candidates. Returns from these three elections, however, yield no conclusions on farmers' attitudes toward international cooperation. Wilson received all the electoral votes for 37 of the 48 States in 1916 but lost all the electoral votes for such predominantly rural States as Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota and Oregon. He received the electoral votes for all other farming

⁴ Paullin, C. O., *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, Plates 102 and 103.

States. In the 1920 election Cox carried none of the farming States outside of the solid South. If, however, 1920 election returns are to be interpreted in any way as reflecting attitudes toward the League of Nations then it should be noted that, with the exception of New England, the Republicans' (anti-League) chief strength was in large cities. In the 1924 election LaFollette received only 13 electoral votes, those from his home State of Wisconsin, but received 4,822,000 popular votes out of a total of 29,089,000. His popular votes came from every State in the union but the overwhelming majority from what are sometimes called the "isolationist States" of the Middle West and Northwest.⁵

Rice, in a study of "Farmers and Workers in American Politics," dealt definitely with the voting behavior of farmers and the congressional representatives from these so-called isolationist areas. He called them "progressive," "radical," or "insurgent" States.⁶ Bean's detailed statistical study of "Ballot Behavior" described about this same list of States as "flexible" in their voting behavior.⁷ A comparison of Rice's 18 "insurgent" States and Bean's 20 States with indexes of greatest "flexibility" shows 12 of these States to be in both lists. These 12 States, by quite other tests than attitudes on international issues, have demonstrated tendencies to vary from national patterns of behavior when confronted with public issues. They appear to be *isolationist in relation to domestic issues*. Maybe they are only more independent, more vested in their farming interests, more provincial than other States. They have contributed more than their share of votes to third parties, more than their share of personnel in farmers' blocs, more than their share of independent or unpredictable votes in national elections.⁸ Few

⁵ *Ibid.* Pp. 104 and 110.

⁶ Rice, S. A., *Farmers and Workers in American Politics*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1924.

⁷ Bean, L. H., *Ballot Behavior*, American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1940.

⁸ The twelve states which appear in both the Rice and Bean lists are: Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming,

poll reports, other than those reporting on political candidates, are made on a State basis and data from only four of them are therefore available for analysis of these 12 States. On the question of daylight-saving time, July 18, 1941, the New England and Middle Atlantic States favorable vote was 78 percent. The votes in these 12 States ranged from a 66 percent high, in Michigan, to a 56 percent low in Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota and Kansas. On May 15, 1941, Gallup reported by States on the following question, "If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote—to go into the war or to stay out of the war?" The national vote in favor of entering the war was 21 percent. The votes from 5 of these States were lower than 21 percent, 1 was 21 percent, and 7 were above 21 percent. On July 9, 1940, Gallup reported, by States, responses for voters from 21 to 25 years of age, on the question, "Do you think every able-bodied young man 20 years old should be made to serve in the army or navy for one year?" The national affirmative response was 66 percent. Seven of the 12 States registered lower and 5 higher percentage favorable responses than the Nation as a whole. On October 12, 1940, he reported on the percentage of voters yet undecided for whom they would vote in a national election to be held 3 weeks later. In the Nation 10 percent were still undecided; in 6 of these States the percentage was 10 or lower, in the other 6 it was higher, the highest—17 percent—in Nevada. In August of that year he had asked, "In politics do you consider yourself Republican, Democrat, or Independent?" Twenty percent of respondents in the Nation said they were "Independent," 7 of these 12 States reported higher percentages, 5 of them 27 percent or higher, and Washington—the highest—reported 33 percent.

This array of facts probably proves little if anything. Rice says concerning them, "It would appear that 'progressivism' and 'in-

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RESOLUTIONS OF FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

General farmers' organizations very often pass resolutions on broad public questions even though such issues may not be especially focused on vested interests of farmers. There were two large Nation-wide farmers' organizations in existence when the League of Nations issue was before the American people following the last war. A search of the proceedings of these organizations uncovered no resolutions on the League by either of them during this period. In November 1915, well before the United States entered war, the National Grange passed a long resolution on war and conflict between Nations. It spoke against increased armaments, war profits, and expressed opposition to an increase in the standing army. It even said, "A nation on the eastern continent

⁸ Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

surrounded by other nations may be forced to arm, so long as neighboring nations continue to do so. But the United States is separated from them by wide oceans far from their base of supplies, and the reason for a nation in Europe or Asia arming does not apply to us." This could be interpreted as outstanding isolationist doctrine and such it is. It illustrates, however, the ease with which farmers' provincial attitudes may be misinterpreted to mean opposition to international cooperation. The resolution concludes as follows: "That until such time as the confidence in human integrity and human righteousness enables the people of the earth to maintain world-wide peace without the intervention of military and naval police forces, we favor the formation of an international police force to be contributed to by all adhering Nations and to be under the direction and control of such international Court of Control as the adhering Nations may decide."¹⁰

The American Farm Bureau Federation was not in existence at the time the League of Nations controversy was raging, and it passed no resolutions on international affairs at its first regular annual meeting in 1921. In 1922 it passed a resolution which read as follows: "Offering a heartfelt prayer that the peoples of the earth may never again engage in wars or experience the horrors attendant thereto, we pledge to our government and its representatives at the Arms Limitations Conference our utmost support, to the end that armed conflict between nations may be forever abolished from the face of the earth."¹¹

Similar resolutions by general farmers' organizations have been passed before and during the present war. In November 1939, the National Grange passed a short resolution on "International Relations" which read in part: "We do have a determination to preserve the blessings that are ours. We

¹⁰ Atkeson, T. C. *Semi-Centennial History of the Patrons of Husbandry*. Pp. 299-301. Orange Judd Co., New York, 1916.

¹¹ "Report of the Executive Secretary." *Publication of American Farm Bureau Federation*, p. 23. October 1922, Chicago, Illinois.

agree that adequate national defense is essential to the safety and security of America."¹² In 1940, it passed a long resolution, a part of which read as follows: "We desire peace and favor support of every worthwhile effort to bring it about. No expense or effort should be spared in preparing for the protection and preservation of America and her ideals. That every material aid short of active participation in war should be extended to England and her allies."

"We are willing to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to defend America and the principles which have made the United States the haven of those who enjoy religious freedom, justice and liberty; but unwilling that even one American life be sacrificed on foreign soil."¹³

The American Farm Bureau Federation in 1939 passed a resolution in favor of the Neutrality Bill¹⁴ and in 1942 passed a long resolution which dealt primarily with the impact of the war on agriculture and government programs, but expressed no attitude toward our allies or other nations.

The National Farmers' Union has passed no resolutions on international policies but has ardently backed the national administration during the whole war period. It, like other farm organizations, chiefly confines its resolutions to domestic issues.

Of the bills before the 67th Congress (1921-22) the Bureau described four as favorable to agriculture. The congressional representatives of the mid-west and the northwest voted consistently for the passage of these bills. On the tariff issue, posed by the Fordney Bill, the majority of these representatives voted solidly in favor. So did congressmen from industrial areas. When, however, the Smoot Hawley Bill came up in 1930 a number of farming area representatives broke away while the industrial area representatives stood pat. If tariffs must be listed as hurdles or blocks to international cooperation, the industrial areas have always

been more isolationist than farming areas.

The congressional agricultural bloc during the last after-war period did not promote or oppose any measures which could in any way reflect farmers' attitudes toward international issues.¹⁵ The same has been true for other organizations which have claimed to speak the voice of agriculture. Farmers and their authorized spokesmen have never centered their thoughts primarily upon international issues nor do they do so now. Those who think they do are most generally looking only at the fringes or at relatively small segments of their day-by-day concerns.

INTERPRETATIONS

The reason poll and election returns furnish so little by way of data with which to answer the question we have posed is because they touch only a segment or the fringe of farmers' attitudes. Neither individual personalities nor social groups, integrated as they are, can be completely understood by their responses to stimuli which so highly segment their ideas as do public opinion polls. Great caution should therefore be exercised in using public opinion poll counts as proof that the responses reflect basic attitudes.

The returns from polls and elections, the votes of congressional representatives and the resolutions of farmers' pressure groups do not validly reflect farmers' most basic attitudes because they very often do not touch issues which are basic in the day-by-day work and life of farm people. Such issues are centered on the concerns of farm and home and local communities. A *Fortune* poll in March 1943 comes near to touching these things. It asked farmers what things they like most and what least about being a farmer, and what things they would like most and what least about living in the city. The three things ranked highest in farm assets by men were: (1) being own boss, (2) ample good food, (3) outdoor living. Their wives listed: (1) ample good food,

¹² *Journal of Proceedings*, p. 168. 1939.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 162. 1940.

¹⁴ *Twenty years with the American Farm Bureau Federation*. P. 29.

¹⁵ See Capper, A. *The Agriculture Bloc*, especially Chapters 13 and 14. Harcourt, Brace. New York. 1922.

¹⁶ *Fortune*
¹⁷ *Forsyth*
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erning areas. A rural bloc during the 1940 election did not promote or oppose any bill in any way toward internationalism. This has been true since the war began. Farmers have never voted primarily upon international issues. They do so now, but most generally for or at relatively minor day-to-day concerns.

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(2) being own boss, (3) privacy and quiet. The things the men said they would like least about city life were: (1) too crowded, (2) noise and confusion, (3) too expensive. Their wives named the same two first which the men named but their third was, "Dirty and poor air."¹⁶ In this same poll, 70.7 percent of farmers said they believed country people were kinder neighbors than either small town or city persons and 70.3 percent said they believed farmers got more satisfactions out of life than others. Neither findings like these nor even those of Forsyth,¹⁷ which show clearly that rural people are rural, not urban, minded reveal those clusters of feelings which constitute the real attitudes of rural people. They contribute quantitative evidence to buttress knowledge which comes from a qualitative and general understanding of rural people and their types of thinking and feeling.

It should be apparent that the information presented in this paper does not justify a sure answer to the question posed in its first paragraph. Therefore, we are confronted with the following questions: (1) What if anything do these data contribute to an answer? (2) Can the question be answered with any certainty? (3) If an answer is to be ventured, on the basis of what additional information is it to be based?

It would appear that the data from public opinion polls, election returns, and congressional votes do tell us the following things about farmers' opinions and attitudes: (1) That when responses to all questions on international relations, including those related to the present war, are considered, farming areas' and farmers' responses are less favorable than are those for the nation as a whole. (2) That farmers' responses are relatively more negative to such proposals as large armies and relatively more positive to proposals for ardent conduct of war activities. (3) That farmers object only slightly more than others to such regulations as are obviously necessary for united na-

tional action but object strenuously to regulations, the necessity for which are not clearly obvious. (4) They register pronounced objection to any and all propositions which seem to them to violate personal or social morality. (5) Their responses are slightly less favorable than others to broad schemes for a League or Association of Nations but very favorable to any scheme which will enforce peace and reduce armament. (6) That the insurgency of farming areas of the nation which have sometimes been called "isolationist" have related to purely farming issues or local issues and not to international issues. (7) It is probable that the farmers' bent to puritanism and to provincialism leads them to be relatively conservative when responding to questions which involve a consideration of issues which do not square with the mores of provincialism or primary group behavior.

Upon the assumption that these seven conclusions are cues to types of farmers' reactions let us go on to some less quantitative interpretations. It is difficult for rationalizers who do national and international planning to realize that farmers are consciously and willingly provincial but that this doesn't mean they are isolationist. The rationalizer assumes that, because good roads, automobiles, newspapers, telephones and radios have placed the farmer in contact with the outside world, the farmer's life is no longer primarily centered on the locality where he works and lives. They fail to take into account the fact that for every hour the average American farmer spends in contact with persons outside the family circle he spends a hundred hours in that circle, and for every hour he spends in the market place he spends hundreds of hours in his own highly solitary occupation. Thousands of American farmers do not leave their family circles more than once a week or their local communities more than once a year. As compared to a large part of the remainder of American citizens, they are relatively isolated, relatively family and farm centered, and relatively neighborhood and local community centered.

When aroused concerning economic in-

¹⁶ *Fortune*, March, 1943, P. 8.

¹⁷ Forsyth, F. H. "Measuring Attitudes Toward Rural Urban Life," *Rural Sociology*, September, 1941, Pp. 234-241.

justice to their own occupational group, American farmers have formed and operated some of the most militant publics in American history; when aroused by threats to the things which they hold dear—homes, morals and national security—they mobilize completely and militantly for national and even international action; but otherwise they are consciously and willingly provincial. They are not seeking outside worlds to conquer or other people's problems to solve. Under the normal influences of their day-by-day lives it should be expected they will register less positive opinion in favor of world-wide schemes of organizations than do those who are more or less constantly mobilized into publics. Even when farmers are functioning as members of publics, the fact that a relatively high percentage of them own property, the fact that a relatively high percentage are married, and the fact that their families are larger and more unified, bends their attitudes toward public issues in the direction of domestic, even provincial, focuses.

Public opinion doesn't imitate foreign policy, but public sentiment at all times tends to sanction or taboo proposals for international arrangements and relations. At the end of this war there is bound to be a very prevalent desire for release from a prolonged reign of regimentation and a deepened sentiment in favor of peace. From poll reports and numerous other expressions farm people may be expected to register pronounced sentiments in favor of both of these desires. These bodies of feeling will furnish the impulses for the types of international

action which can be taken by the government. A clear statement that an Association of Nations will facilitate accomplishment and maintenance of peace will mobilize the support of farmers. They will be willing that organized force be used to maintain peace. Returns from polls indicate that farmers always register in favor of what they consider to be moral issues; quite generally they out-vote others in behalf of American citizens accepting and fulfilling their individual and group responsibilities; and they register more than average willingness to abide by regulations enforced by war necessities. They object to large armies, heavy government expenditures, and what they think are unnecessary regulations.

If those who will handle our Nation's international affairs at the end of this war want to enlist the sanction of American farmers for an Association of Nations, this can probably be done by appealing to their yet existent puritan honesty and altruism. It will be necessary, however, that farmers be not accused of isolationism because they still retain a high degree of locality provincialism. Most farmers believe devoutly in these provincialisms, that homes and local communities are the basic concerns of life, that they are social units and unities for the survival of which all other types of associations of men and nations exist. They will object to an organization which seeks power for itself but they will favor international arrangements which give promises of strengthening and safeguarding these unities.

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THE CONCEPT OF ROLE IN SOCIAL WORK*

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THE INFLUENCE of psychiatry upon social work during the past quarter of a century has been extraordinarily stimulating and fruitful. No one who has read case records, starting at the end of the first World War and coming down to the present, can fail to be struck by the great gains made in the understanding of human nature as a result of that stimulus. There is, however, ground for questioning whether psychiatry has not already made its maximum contribution to social work at the stage now reached by both arts. An affirmative answer would not mean that further experimentation on the border between case and group work on the one hand and the deeper psychiatric therapies on the other will not continue to yield significant insights. It would merely imply that social work has absorbed as many of the psychiatric concepts as can be used generally in its professional services today.

The recently awakened interest in administration in many lines of activity is reflected in the discussions of the administration of public relief and has brought new life into the consideration of policy making and professional-client relationships, especially in the public welfare field. It is for the types of social work that lie between the therapeutic care of markedly disturbed individuals and the administration of assistance as defined by law, that there seems to be need for the development of new theoretical analyses. It is in that middle ground where most social work takes place that sociology might be expected to make whatever contribution it can to the practical art with which it is so closely allied in popular thinking. This particular study has resulted from an attempt to evaluate the possibilities of inter-stimulation between the two fields.

* Presented to the Eastern Sociological Society, New York City, April 22, 1944.

A concept, of which both sociology and social work are making increased use and which they might well explore together, is that of *role*. It has been defined by Cottrell as "an internally consistent series of conditioned responses by one member of a social situation which represents the stimulus pattern for a similarly consistent series of conditioned responses of the other(s) in that situation."¹ This might be called a *unit or specific role*, and it is with such roles limited to specific situations that this paper is primarily concerned. Cottrell's definition implies that the role is cultural in nature and that it is always related to the learned roles of other actors in a given situation. A comparison of Cottrell's definition with that of Kingsley Davis, derived from the earlier study of status and role by Linton, indicates that the concept of cultural role needs further clarification.² In addition, there is growing recognition of the fact that there are societal as well as cultural roles but there is to be found in sociological literature little systematic knowledge in regard to their nature. Cottrell's definition also raises the question as to how the role patterns of the various members in a given situation are fused in a consistent interrelation of responses. The point of this brief discussion of concepts is merely to suggest the desirability of a further study of roles, role systems and the processes of role inculcation.

Turning to the practice of social work, the sociologist might well begin with the examination of some well defined role patterns. Much light is thrown upon various theoretical problems by the consideration, for exam-

¹ Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Adjustment of the Individual to his Age and Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, 7:617 (Oct., 1942).

² Kingsley Davis, "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 7:311 (June, 1942). See also, Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., N.Y., 1936, Ch. 8.

ple, of the way in which applicants for the position of foster parent are handled. The social worker has at her disposal a carefully developed role model and is given a good deal of practice in carrying it out. The applicants are rarely given a chance to learn their roles, because such applications are usually made once only. Instead, they are put in constructed situations and are faced with, in Cottrell's terms, an "internally consistent series of conditioned responses," to which as a stimulus pattern they respond either spontaneously or in accordance with their conditioning in earlier situations which seem to them similar. The purpose of the process, from the point of view of the social worker, is to determine whether such individuals can assume the role of foster parent working under the direction of a social agency and to begin the training for that role.³

To turn to a more complex example, nursery schools are developing specific roles for the parents of the children whom they admit. These have been worked out to ease the tensions aroused in either the child or his parents by his leaving home and by his entering, remaining in, and withdrawing from the nursery school. They have been designed to provide the minimum of patterning necessary to protect most parents, or at least most mothers and children from shock at the first break in totalitarian family relationships. The patterns have also been designed, so that individuals who want to use the nursery school to enrich their parental roles may do so. More complex patterns, too, are held in reserve and are pressed into service for parents or children who are abnormally disturbed by the changes in relationship initiated by nursery school attendance.⁴

Sociologists have something to contribute as well as to learn from a consideration of social work practice. There is one especially enlightening illustration of possible interstimulation between the two fields. "Alco-

³ There is an excellent recent study of the process in Dorothy F. Hutchinson, *In Quest of Foster Parents*, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1943.

⁴ See the discussion in Jessie Taft, *Day Care of Children as a Social Service*, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia, 1943.

holics Anonymous" has developed an extraordinarily interesting and significantly rich role for those who would become and remain *ex-alcoholics*. A recent analysis of that pattern by Freed Bales makes explicit the assumptions in regard to roles, role systems and the adaptability of specific roles to certain personality types, which had been intuitively accepted but not consciously understood by the inventor of this new and highly successful device for the stabilizing of unstable personalities. Through his analysis, Mr. Bales clarifies and emphasizes the meaning of the experiment and suggests possible ways in which social workers might handle other problems of the same type.⁵

Sociologists might help even more with role models that are in the process of being developed. To illustrate the need for such development, mental illness is almost always a profoundly disturbing experience for those closely tied to the patient, and their disturbance is increased by their ignorance of what to do. Families are not, of course, left entirely without counsel once the mental illness of a member can no longer be concealed. From all sides, friends and acquaintances come and in a "hush-hush" atmosphere reveal that one of their relatives has also been ill. The private culture is rich in theories about the causes of mental illness and the proper methods of care, but they are often fantastically unscientific in character and are so conflicting as to add immeasurably to the emotional disturbance of the family for the first time coming into contact with that culture.

Fortunately, a broad section of the professional field, psychiatrists and other doctors, nurses, social workers, educators and the clergy, are aware of the dangerous potentialities in such folk cultural roles as are at present put at the disposal of the families of the mentally ill. Attempts are being made consciously and purposefully to create substitute roles that are scientifically sound and to educate the public in their use. It is not only the need for protective and constructive

⁵ Freed Bales, "Types of Social Structures as Factors in 'Cures' for Alcoholic Addiction," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 1-13.

developed an extended significantly analysis of makes explicit reference to roles, role of specific roles which had been not consciously of this new and the stabilizing through his analysis emphasizes the and suggests possible workers might be same type.⁵ Even more with process of being need for such is almost always experience for patient, and their their ignorance not, of course, once the mental longer be confined and acquaintance "hush-hush" atmosphere their relatives has culture is rich in of mental illness are, but they are specific in character add immeasurable disturbance of the coming into contact

tion of the professionals and other doctors, educators and the dangerous potential roles as are the families are being made to create specifically sound and their use. It is not and constructive

Social Structures as Addiction," *Applied*
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roles for the relatives of a person becoming mentally ill that have been recognized; the growth of psychiatric social work has also led to the realization that, once the ill person has been placed in a mental hospital, his family need further role training in their relations to the various hospital services and to the patient under hospital care. Furthermore, the practice of releasing patients who are only partially cured, but who would benefit by being sent home rather than kept longer in a hospital ward, has made social workers aware of the necessity for the support given by well-defined role patterns, if the patient is not to regress after his discharge and other family members are not to be seriously upset by the impact upon them of a somewhat deranged personality. It is, of course, true that doctors and social workers must use discrimination as to the family members who can be trusted only with minimum roles and those who can be trained to carry roles much richer in cultural content. The only systematic presentation of role models is to be found in Edith M. Stern's *Mental Illness: A Guide for the Family*.⁶ Other material is scattered through the case records of mental hospitals and psychiatric clinics. Sociological research, using this type of undigested material, might well yield valuable insights into family structure and functioning and might also have practical significance in improving the care of the mentally ill and the treatment of their families.

Further possibilities along this line were indicated by a reviewer of Miss Stern's manual, who suggested that a similar delineation of family roles be undertaken to assist the relatives of reform school children and adult prisoners. Considerable thought is being given at present to the education of the families of the war-wounded. The chief purposes in the development of such specific roles is to protect the individuals caught in the tensions and conflicts of emotionally disturbing situations against undue shock, and to provide for certain types of social maturation which our culture by reason of

its strains requires but does not universally provide.

It is not only the families who benefit from adequate role models. Some, though not all, of the permanently disadvantaged can profit from training in the use of role patterns adjusted to their particular handicaps. The blind, deaf, tubercular, the diabetics, epileptics, and cardiacs all have to carry roles modified in some particulars from the normal, if they are to maintain themselves. Many of the war-wounded will need, in the same way, expert advice and help in learning to live with their disabilities. The use made of the wounded veterans of the last war as models for the patients in military hospitals is suggestive of a new type of treatment possibilities. Assistance in the development and diffusion of satisfying roles which take into account such physical limitations is clearly a responsibility of the social work field, which sociology might well share.

There is one other category of handicap to which attention should be called, that of racial, religious and ethnic discrimination, which it is to be hoped will be lessened but which certainly will not disappear entirely in the near future. A recent perusal of Jewish case records brought to light the extent to which Jewish social workers are aware of the special handicaps from which this generation of their clients are bound to suffer. It also made clear that there have been certain cultural adaptations especially in adolescent roles that may enable a sensitive youngster to adjust to these handicaps without too much personality distortion.⁷ The recent studies by the American Youth Commission of Negro-youth, suggest the contribution which sociology can make to the analysis of role models used to lessen the harmful impact of discrimination upon the individual.⁸ There is need, however, to relate such studies more closely to social work practice

⁵ See for example, Solomon Andhil Fineberg, *Overcoming Anti-Semitism*, New York: Harpers, 1943, Ch. 5.

⁶ For list of studies and summary of findings, see Robert L. Sutherland, *Color, Class, and Personality*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942.

⁷ Edith M. Stern, *Mental Illness: A Guide for the Family*, New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1942.

and to test out through collaboration, the effectiveness of various patterns in furthering growth or promoting therapy, and the methods by which they may be inculcated.

Another type of sociological aid to the practice of social work is through the study of family role systems and their relation to the deviant behavior of family members. Two studies, as yet unpublished, of juvenile delinquency as growing out of the cultural patterning of family relationships in ethnic minorities—in the one case, of Mexican boys in Chicago; in the other, of South Italian boys in Boston—throw a new light on causation in delinquency.⁹ They both suggest that methods of control based on a thorough knowledge of family patterns and designed to support or modify them in such a way as to relieve the small boy of the need for delinquency as a compensatory device, might prove often more effective than a direct approach to the delinquent as an individual.

The sociologist's slowly accumulating knowledge in regard to stratification in American society might also be used to throw light on social work practice. Recognition and acceptance of social structure is rarely apparent in social work literature or in case records, but implicit in much of the practice in the field is the assumption that the enrichment and diffusion of upper middle class culture is one of the major functions of practitioners. The replacement of folk culture by one founded on science is a goal consciously pursued by social workers, especially where health is involved. Rationality in the management of individual lives has been fostered by the creation of community resources for guidance and training. Participation in formal organizations, bewildering in their variety, is a distinguishing characteristic of the middle class person. Social workers have shown themselves true products of the social position in which they were born or to which they are aspiring to climb, by their acceptance of the joint functions of

contributing to such developments in personality patterning and of making over the individuals with whom they come in contact according to upper class models and at the same time by the unconsciousness with which they often pursue those goals.

Parenthetically it may be remarked that from several quarters a basic assumption of our culture that all Americans ought, by virtue of their Americanism, either to be moving upward in the social structure or at least to be frustrated because they are not, is being attacked with vigor or even with acrimony. It is distasteful for us to think that anyone should be content to remain permanently in the lower class, or that folk culture and society may in any way be more satisfying than a sophisticated culture with its emphasis upon rationality and forethought. To quote just one sociologist, Whyte, in *Street Corner Society*, has raised some interesting questions about the segregation of social settlements from the lower class communities in which they are located.¹⁰ Should they serve only those persons who want to escape from the community and who are really outcasts from it, or should they become an integral part of the local community, serving its needs? Should settlement house workers develop a respect for lower class personality patterns and seek to protect them from distortion rather than to increase that distortion by attempting unsuccessfully to replace them by middle class patterns? Sociologists are in better position, perhaps, than social workers to free themselves from cultural preconceptions and to re-examine the basic assumptions on which social work rests.

Returning to the main line of argument, social workers have not just accepted the middle class role pattern as it has developed through the slow processes of cultural change, but have been actively engaged in its modification through purposive action. Nor has diffusion moved in one direction only, downward from the upper middle class to the lower middle class and on to persons

⁹ Edward Jackson Baur, *Delinquency among Mexican Boys in South Chicago*, Master's thesis, Univ. of Chicago, 1938; Harland G. Lewis, An unpublished study of second generation Italian-American boys.

¹⁰ William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, pp. 98-104.

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upwardly mobile from the lower class. Much more frequently than is sometimes realized, inventions which change expectations in regard to middle class behavior, have been designed for persons in the lower ranks of the social structure. After a period of successful experimentation at that level, their use has then spread upward.

Counseling services, for example, have usually been designed first for the lower socio-economic classes. Family counseling, vocational and child guidance, as well as health clinics and medical social work were put at the disposal first of social work clients before they were made available to other groups. Much of social work is devoted to enabling individuals in the lower levels of the social structure to make use of these newer devices. Recently, however, increased effort has been devoted to "selling" such services to the upper ranks of society. The development of social assistance for the armed forces without regard to class position may well result in the integration in the middle class role model of full employment of community resources in the planning of one's life and of reliance upon expert guidance in the meeting of common crisis situations.

Approaching the subject from a somewhat different angle, social work has always provided opportunities through its use of volunteers, for the upper middle class to practice leadership and civic responsibility. An interesting result of the pressure of war upon American society has been the need by all kinds of agencies to make use of volunteer aid and to look for it farther down in the social structure than has been customary in the past. Many lower middle-class women have been drawn through the Red Cross, for example, into many types of war service. Some social settlements have reported a change in the class position of their volunteers. At the same time, the growing professionalization of civic service has been influential in developing training programs for volunteers and making them a prerequisite for participation. Thus very definite role patterns have been worked out which can be taken on by almost any woman in the middle class or even by one who is

attempting to move into that class. The effects of this broadening of class range in public service will be interesting to observe in the future. The possibility of reshaping these recently developed patterns so that they can be used to advantage by the community in peacetime ought to be very carefully explored.

In addition, in the rising tension of a war and post-war period, new models for leadership need to be developed to deal with common situations generating such tensions. A good deal of effort is being devoted to the invention of improved Negro-white interactional patterns and their diffusion through the upper strata of both races. The same process is going on in the area of inter-ethnic and inter-faith relations. Sociologists and social workers are, of course, fully aware of the problems arising from the patterns of intolerance, discrimination and violence to be found today in American community life and of the possibilities of substituting others more in keeping with our democratic ideals and our national dignity. They should see quite definitely what they can do most usefully in helping to bring about desirable cultural changes and in diffusing them throughout our society.

To summarize, the part that sociologists might play in the study of the concept of role and role system in the social work setting may be defined as fourfold.

First, it is possible for the sociologist to examine the development of role models in social work practice and to evaluate them in the light of his own specialized knowledge and experience and with the aid of the newer analytical tools which he has developed.

Second, it is possible for him to examine the natural role systems in which clients function as members and to point out the connection between those systems and the behavior to which they give rise. Is it too much to expect that he might also suggest the directions in which the social worker might with the greatest economy of effort exert her influence toward the elimination of undesirable deviant behavior or toward the support of socially desirable behavior?

Third, the sociologist has a certain re-

sponsibility for reinterpreting, in terms more directly comprehensible to the social worker, the literature in regard to role-taking already produced, to only a part of which reference has been made in this paper. An examination of other lines which sociological research has followed, would yield equally valuable insights applicable to the practice of social work.¹¹

¹¹Attention should be called to the study of societal and cultural roles, through the use of sociometry and psychodrama, techniques developed by J. L. Moreno. See especially: J. L. Moreno,

Fourth, active collaboration between sociologists and social workers might hasten the process of inventing and diffusing role patterns needed to protect individuals against the tensions peculiar to our age and to enable them to make more constructive use of the opportunities for personality enrichment which it offers.

Who Shall Survive? Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934; Helen Hall Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1943; and current issues of *Sociometry*.

MAKING GOVERNMENT OPINION RESEARCH BEAR UPON OPERATIONS*

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WHEN social science professors go to Washington in war-time and join the much maligned bureaucracy they find themselves engaging in very different activities from those to which they have become accustomed on their home campuses. Many of them become administrators of one sort or another—a few even rise to that sacred eminence known as the "policy level"—but even those who continue to make research their main occupation find that their work is mostly carried on under a set of new conditions very different from those obtaining at home. The effect of those conditions on their work habits and, indeed, on their general point of view toward research is likely to be so considerable as to affect post-war research in the social sciences significantly.

The most important of these new conditions is the requirement that most of the research done on government funds in wartime agencies be immediately useful in operations. Whereas a sociologist occupying an academic chair can indulge in long-time research which will some day yield him a

magnus opus, or can make small-scale local studies which he justifies as "methodological contributions" or as fact-bricks which can eventually be built into the structure of knowledge, the government research man must definitely work as an applied scientist and must know moreover just what operational problems his science is intended to help solve. Basic research may continue to be government subsidized in the physical and biological sciences but social science, with a few important exceptions like population censuses and cost-of-living studies, has arrived at no such position of indispensability that its researchers can receive draft exemptions and government subsidies to build up the pure-scientific edifice or to solve the problems of ten years from now. Some pure-scientific research may emerge as a by-product of more practical activity, but in general social scientists are called upon to act in much the same way that the market research profession has always had to function. Both have to make their data relevant to immediate or near-immediate operational problems.

Now to design and carry out research in such a way as to make it bear upon the

* Presented to the Eastern Sociological Society, New York, April 22, 1943.

problems of the administrator is not easy, especially under the conditions of war-time work in Washington. There has been much fumbling, considerable waste of time and money, and not a little essentially useless research done while social scientists were learning how to behave in the new ways the circumstances require of them. A good deal of the necessary learning has by now been somewhat painfully accomplished and public money is being used much more efficiently for research than it was two years ago. Perhaps then this is an appropriate time to take stock of the changes that have taken place in the social scientist's outlook and procedure in the process of becoming an efficient servant of the bureaucrats. No person is yet competent to perform this task for all of the manifold types of social science research activity that have blossomed in Washington in the war period, and a survey of even a single field like that of public opinion and attitude research, which it is proposed to cover in this paper, must suffer from a limited range of personal experience and a limited time perspective. However, the author has served time in two of the seven currently extant units engaged in public opinion interviewing¹ and has exchanged experiences with some of his brother social scientists who work in the other five. He hopes, therefore, that his description of some of the conditions under which this type of research takes place, and some of the precautions which are now more often taken to keep it thoroughly useful and practical, will not be too inaccurate. The plan is to begin by outlining some of the special features which make the Washington research climate so difficult for the academic research man to work in, and then follow with a dis-

cussion of how public opinion researchers adjust to these conditions and through proper liaison relations with administrators manage to meet the latter's needs for pertinent data.

THE CLIMATE IN WHICH GOVERNMENT OPINION RESEARCH TAKES PLACE

Opinion research people in the government find a gradual but steadily increasing demand for their services, which is encouraging and helps promote their morale. At the same time, however, they find certain aspects of the Washington research environment continually frustrating, and they have many moments when a return to academic life seems irresistibly attractive. It is worth while to note at least four of these characteristic Washington conditions which are hampering to opinion research, since they are responsible for many failures to make research serve operations effectively.

First on the list is the fact that the personnel of research clients and research staffs is constantly changing. A study begun for one administrator may be finished for his successor, who often views the problems under investigation differently and consequently does not find research planned for his predecessor very useful. Turnover is high among research personnel too, perhaps because of the disappointments met with in trying to serve a series of masters, but more often because of the draft, the inevitably frequent "Washington reorganizations," or the promise of a job in another agency.

A second basic difficulty is the fact that, in wartime, policy planning tends to be on a short-time basis. The situation is changing so rapidly that administrators can seldom be concerned with problems that will exist next month or next year; instead they have to spend much of their time dealing with today's and next week's impending decisions, upon which opinion research can only with difficulty be brought to bear. "Quickie" studies can be made in a week if necessary, but samples have to be small and analysis is necessarily limited.

The clearance problem presents a *third* difficulty. To get the proper authorization for

¹The seven are (1) the Program Surveys Division, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture; (2) the Surveys Division, Office of War Information (defunct as of July, 1944), (3) the Civilian Relations Branch, Office of Civilian Requirements, WPB; (4) the Research Branch, Special Services Division, War Department, (5) the Committee on Food Habits, National Research Council, (6) the Special Surveys Division, Bureau of the Census, and (7) The Surveys Division, Information Department, Office of Price Administration.

a study takes time and gives rise to acute personality frustrations in the research staff. While the Division of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget, which clears all questionnaires, is generally efficient and reasonably rapid in action, there are usually many other clearances that have to be obtained. Especially is this true on inter-agency research arrangements. On a recent study made by OWI for a sister agency each of the following persons had to approve before the study could go into the field:

The division chief in the client agency who wanted the study; he was the primary research client.

The public opinion research expert in the client agency, who acted as a sort of research broker in the proceedings.

The chief of the Division of Statistical Standards of the client agency who clears all that agency's questionnaires.

The assistant administrator for the agency; he had to decide whether it was good agency policy to make the study with its funds.

The budget officer for the client agency; he had to approve the transfer of funds.

A representative of the Estimates Division of the Bureau of the Budget; he had also to approve the transfer of funds to OWI.

A representative of the Division of Statistical Standards in the Bureau of the Budget; he supplied the vital Budget Bureau number without which no government schedule can be administered to more than ten people.

The Director of the Domestic Branch of OWI; he had to decide whether it was good policy for OWI to do the requested research for the other agency.

The Assistant Director of the Domestic Branch; the study went over his desk to the Director.

The Chief of the Bureau in OWI in which the research was actually done; the study went over her desk to the Assistant Director.

The Chief of the Division in OWI actually doing the research.

The Chief of a Division in a third government agency who was brought in by the Bureau of the Budget because his agency was believed to have an interest in the subject matter of the study.

To get all these people to put their stamp of approval on the research project, and any one of them could force modifications in it or halt it, took about a month of conferences

and telephone calls. Not all clearance problems are as bad as this one, but at least two weeks is an average time to get all the necessary signatures. Of course not all this time is wasted; the planning of the details of the study usually proceeds along with the clearance process.

A very important *fourth* condition is the fact that opinion research is still regarded as "political dynamite" by many government administrators who are afraid to use it in the solution of their problems for fear of Congressional objections. So long, however, as it does not completely block all experimentation, a limitation of this sort is not necessarily bad, for any new technique has to win its way gradually and taxpayer's money must not be wasted on unproven types of research. The increasing use of opinion research outside the government is gradually easing the situation, and making administrators more willing to approve the use of similar techniques in the government, but it is still emphatically true that important and useful projects are excluded by cautious administrators which, if some way were found to explain them to Congress and the public, could gain approval on their merits. But it is seldom practical to take any single project to such a high court for approval.

These four types of limitation just outlined do not make opinion research impossible in the government; they only make it more difficult and more expensive than it otherwise would be, and make good liaison work more necessary. Too much emphasis cannot, in fact, be placed on this matter of liaison. Whether a particular administrator is able to make his decisions in the light of good and relevant public opinion data will depend more on the type of contacts that take place between him and the research people than upon any other single factor. It behooves us, therefore, to examine the process of interaction between the research expert and his operator-client.

STAGES IN THE PROCESS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN CLIENT AND RESEARCHER

From the point of view of the opinion research man there are five discernible steps

or stages in the process of interaction between him and the person who is going ultimately to use his data. These five steps are:

1. Determining who the real client is and establishing contact with him;
2. Defining this real client's *operational problem*, finding out what the decision is that he is faced with and with respect to which he needs help from opinion research;
3. Defining the *research problem*, that is to say outlining the expected contribution which research can make in relation to the operational problem;
4. Outlining a *research program* to get the answer to the research problem, in other words planning the details of the study or studies to be made;
5. After the study has been carried out there comes the fifth step of reporting the results in such a manner as to make them relevant to the original operational problem and intelligible to the operator-client.

ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH THE CLIENT

The first step in this sequence would appear simple and obvious—an administrator calls you up, you go to see him, and he becomes a client. Unfortunately in the government it is not always that easy. Where is this man in the administrative hierarchy? Is he the principal or only a "special assistant" who acts as an intermediary through whom ideas have to be filtered in a two-way process? Will a study done for him get the necessary clearances or will some one stop it for "policy reasons" just when discussions between you get interesting. Will he really use the material you are planning to provide for him? Will he hold up his decision until he gets this material? Before one starts getting enthusiastic about research prospects it is well to have favorable answers to at least some of these questions.

One other question about the client needs special emphasis in a paragraph of its own. This question is "Is the client a single person or a committee?" In theory it is wonderful to work for a group of clients: it makes the research more widely useful, avoids unnecessary duplication of studies, and brings more brain-power to the design of the study. The Bureau of the Budget labors indus-

triously to increase the number of clients for each piece of planned research and when a study is projected it informs possibly interested parties in other parts of the government and invites them into conferences. Sometimes this works well and a better study results from committee action, but unfortunately this is not always what happens. Too many cooks often make the research broth inedible for all the clients, either by putting too many ingredients into the pot or by overboiling the mixture. A study of absenteeism recently made by a government agency illustrates some of the difficulties of multiple clients. I quote from a memorandum prepared by the study director:

The committee of clients contained representatives from agencies A, B, C, D, and E. The clients did not agree among themselves about their main interest. Agency A was relatively more interested in out-plant conditions than was the agency B representative, who wanted more detailed questions on in-plant factors. The committee, however, delegated to Mr. X of agency A the task of carrying on their contact with the study. We discovered, after the report was written that one group in agency C was mainly concerned with the way in which labor-management committees were functioning to combat absenteeism. Although this group was apparently represented in the original committee, no indication of their type of interest percolated down to those of us doing the study.

It developed later that Mr. X, the committee delegate, had forgotten to read the final research plan sent him and had a wrong conception of what actually was undertaken. The report of the study was widely circulated but it may be doubted whether the findings were used in policy making, since they were not focused on a set of operational problems agreed on by the committee.

DEFINING THE OPERATIONAL PROBLEM AND THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

With these cautionary remarks on client committees let us return to the simpler and more usual situation in which there is one client to be serviced. What happens between him and the research man to produce a study that is keyed to the operator's needs?

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definition of the operational problem and the research problem (or problems) associated with it. For research purposes the operational problem is defined when the alternative courses of action are stated, choice among which will be directly affected by the study or studies to be made. The research problem is defined when the data which will so affect this choice are listed. The expected research findings need not be, and seldom are, completely determining in relation to the decision between the alternatives but that decision must be affected significantly by them; otherwise there is an operational problem but no corresponding research problem.

In theory the operational problem should be already clearly defined in the mind of the administrator before he calls in the research man; in practice the definition is only arrived at in any sort of exact terms after conference with the researcher. Discussion between the two follows a sort of dialectical form. Starting the conversation the operator says in effect, "I need a study to tell me this and this." The research man asks why he needs it and how he will make use of the data; this forces the operator to attempt a definition of his operational problem. In the light of the answers he gets the research man may say, "That's not quite what you need to know, but this is," and proceed to suggest a modification of the research problem as originally stated by the client. He may also say, "We can't answer that question with our present techniques," or "It will cost too much" or "We can do this and this for you, but not what you originally suggested." The operator comes back with further suggestions, modifications, and extensions and the research man comments on, changes, and supplements these. Finally an agreement on the research problems to be attacked is arrived at; both know what research is to be done and what it is to be used for.

To illustrate the sort of agreement that comes out of this process take some recent research done on the anti-inflation program. The primary client here was a man charged with the responsibility of promoting public understanding of the inflationary danger

and compliance with the seven-point program through the use of OWI's radio, motion picture, advertising, and news dissemination facilities. Several studies were done for him, each one designed to answer questions, either about the probable response of the public to certain types of material if disseminated, or the actual response after the material was sent out. Obviously one general question which came up in all the studies was "What is the public's understanding of the inflationary process." The operator had to have accurate information about the levels of economic thinking in the different parts of the population if his information program was to be intelligible to those at whom it was directed. But it was equally clear that a general economic quiz was not called for, and that there were only certain aspects of the inflationary menace which needed to be understood. When the Surveys Division of OWI was called in to help on the operational problem of constructing a sound information program, discussion soon turned to an attempt to limit the research problem to answering certain specific questions about public knowledge and expectations. Among the questions finally selected as foci for research were the following:

1. What does the word "inflation" mean to the average citizen?
2. What do people think causes rising prices?
3. Are people aware of any menace in rising prices, or do they think a price rise would be a good thing?
4. Does the average citizen think he can protect himself from rising prices, and if so, how would he do it?
5. What does he think the government could do to prevent inflation? Is he aware of any relationship between prices and taxes, prices and rationing, prices and bond buying, prices and wages?

These are not questionnaire questions; they are a long way from that. They constitute only a definition of a research problem, but as such they are an indispensable preliminary to any detailed questionnaire construction. Similar definitions of research problems on work done by one or another government opinion research unit, together

seven-point program's radio, motion picture, and dissemination done for him, either of the public to disseminated, or the material was general question studies was "What was the inflator had to have at the levels of different parts of the information program those at whom it was clear that a not called for, and in aspects of the needed to be surveys Division of in the operational sound information turned to an research problem to questions about expectations. Among d as foci for re

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with the operational problems to which the research applies, are given in Table I. A number of the operational problems on the list are *informational* rather than *administrative*, that is to say they relate to decisions to be made by officials whose job it is to modify people's knowledge and attitudes through the use of the information media rather than by the issuance of administrative orders and regulations. The list of problems does not pretend to be representative of the

work of opinion research in the government; it is a selection from a much larger list of which many items cannot yet be discussed in public, moreover the summary of the research problems is in most cases incomplete and the actual studies made answered more questions than those given in the table. But perhaps enough has been given to suggest how operational and research problems get defined in relation to each other. When they are defined in any particular case the next

TABLE I. SOME OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS AND CORRESPONDING OPINION RESEARCH PROBLEMS INVESTIGATED BY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Operational Problems	Related Research Problems
1. How can fat salvage collections be increased by better information programs? Is the fat collection system satisfactory or does it need changing?	1. Do housewives know about fat salvage collection? Are they saving their fats and greases? If not, why not? What do they think about the red point bonus?
2. Should a serious effort be made to get more rubber allocated for the manufacture of women's girdles?	2. What proportion of women who tried to buy girdles have been unable to do so? What proportion found the girdles they did buy unsatisfactory? Does the shortage of girdles involve real hardship to women? Are shortages in other civilian goods more depressing to morale?
3. Are war bond appeals being overdone on the radio? Should the radio time allocated to war bonds be shifted to some other governmental programs? How can radio war bond appeals be made more effective?	3. Are people surfeited with war bond appeals? How does war bond appeal surfeit compare with surfeit on other war appeals? What kinds of war material do people like best over the radio?
4. Should a particular illustrated pamphlet on lend-lease designed for mass distribution actually be issued?	4. How do people react to the pamphlet when it is shown to them? What do they get out of it? Does it change their attitudes toward lend-lease? Would they read it if it were given or sent to them? Would some other technique for spreading information on lend-lease be more effective?
5. Should pressure for increased 1944 hog production be put on farmers?	5. What are farmers' plans with respect to 1944 hog production? What chief factors influence their production plans?
6. Should Boy Scout distribution of government posters be continued on the existing scale, or modified?	6. What proportion of posters sent out actually ever reach store windows? What are the reasons why posters do not get displayed?
7. What particular emphases are needed in a government information program on gasoline rationing?	7. Does the public accept the necessity of gasoline rationing? If so, for what reasons is it thought necessary? What regional differences in attitude are there? What is the attitude toward and information about black markets? Are people informed on car-sharing requirements? To what extent are cars shared?
8. Should compulsory savings be instituted?	8. How would people feel about a compulsory payroll deduction plan for bond sales? Would such a plan actually increase savings? In what terms should such a plan be justified to the public, if it is adopted?

step in procedure is to outline a concrete research program.

OUTLINING THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

The research program ordinarily includes a study outline or proposal and one or more questionnaires. The proposal states the research problems to be attacked, the kind of interviewing (intensive or extensive) to be employed, the type and size of sample, and the probable cost. The questionnaires will be first draft affairs and their presentation to the client should initiate a second series of conferences in which the study undergoes further adaptation to suit his purposes. At this stage, however, the major role is played by the research expert who presumably knows how to phrase questions and what meaning a particular wording is likely to have to respondents. The client should not be encouraged to edit questionnaires, especially after they have been pretested, but he should be urged to use the schedule as a stimulus to further thinking about his problem and to further clarify in his mind and that of the researcher the things he really wants to know. Frequently a questionnaire will go through half a dozen revisions and changes will be made not only for technical reasons, because a question didn't "work" on a pre-test, but also for the purpose of further adapting the questions to a gradually clarifying picture of what the operator needs to find out.

To illustrate how questions get modified in the process of perfecting a schedule let us trace the development of a particular question on the anti-inflation study previously referred to.² In the original draft the question was:

"Do you think that rationing helps to hold down prices?"

- A. (If "Yes") How?
- B. (If "No") Why not?

At the first conference on the research program the client said that what he wanted was to get at the understanding of the rela-

²I am indebted to Dr. Hazel Gaudet for this illustration and the account here given is a paraphrase of a part of a memorandum written by her.

tion between rationing and inflation control and that he wanted the question to be suitable for trend purposes, i.e., for periodic repetition to show increased understanding, if any, as the information campaign got underway.

It was agreed in the conference that it was useless to try and get free answers on understanding of this relationship. On a previous study it had already been found that only a very small percentage of people were able to explain the effect of prices on rationing. It was decided that for analysis purposes it would be sufficient if we could find out whether people knew that rationing had any effect on prices—and if so, whether it made prices go up or down. Consequently a different version, similar to one used earlier, was tried on the first pre-test. This version read:

"Do you think rationing has any effect on prices in general, or doesn't it have any connection with prices?"

A. (If "Effect") Does it make them go up or down?"

The question was pretested and it was found that it was being answered in two entirely different contexts, one theoretical, the other practical. Consequently the results would be of no use because a respondent could say rationing made prices go up (thinking practically) and go down (thinking theoretically). No satisfactory means existed of dividing those with understanding from those without.

The problem was taken back to the client for a second discussion and a new version arrived at; one which promised to yield less information on understanding but still get at a part of what the client was driving at:

"If we didn't have rationing, do you think the cost of living would be higher than it is now?"

This question was found satisfactory on pre-test and was kept in the final questionnaire.

This sort of interaction between client and study director went on with respect to the other twenty-odd questions on the schedule, and evaluation of the effectiveness of the final version on the question discussed

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must not be made outside the context of the whole schedule and without knowledge of the plans for analyzing the results. The point of this particular illustration is simply to show how the client was carried along through the necessary process of revision, and made to see and accept the changes that had to be made in the original version. Such a close liaison between client and study director as is exemplified here is the surest guarantee that the former will actually use the results when he gets them. One reason why he will use them is because the questions are partly his brain children and he will want to see that they make their mark in the world.

REPORTING THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

After the research program, including the questionnaire, is approved by all and sundry clients and clearance officers the study goes into the field and anywhere from several days to several weeks later the final contact with the client is made when the report is presented. Some few clients virtually write the report themselves by specifying how the data are to be analyzed and the topic headings they want covered. More often the research staff prepares a document which they transmit to the operator directly or through the appropriate official channels.

Report preparation for clients is a separate subject and only two brief remarks will be made about it here. One is that the report should clearly present the answers to the questions defined in the original research problem but should not include recommendations concerning the solution to the operational problem. Since the operator's decision on his problem will usually be based on a variety of considerations, of which the research findings are only one, a recommendation for action from the research expert is likely to appear naive and presumptuous to the operator. An operator can be helped to a conclusion on what to do by an adroit oral pointing-out of the significance of the research findings but to put these suggestions on paper is usually a mistake. Wherever possible, an oral report should always be made in addition to a written one, so that the

operator can be given the flavor and feel of the data to add to the bare bones of statistics, and so he can ask and receive answers to questions which have come up since the research was originally planned.

The second observation about reporting is that the written report should be brief and also comprehensible to the client. Hence it should be as little like the usual sociological journal article, or this paper, as possible.

PRESENT AND FUTURE ROLES OF THE OPINION RESEARCH EXPERT

We have been concerned throughout this discussion with a process of liaison in which the aim was to make the research man a better servant of the operator. This approach will be objected to not only by those who regard it as a prostitution of pure science but also, at the other extreme, by those who think it does not give the sociologist a big enough role in shaping policy. "If the expert has to wait until he is called in," the latter group might say, "and then only perform tasks set for him, he will not have full opportunity to be maximally useful. He should be ranging out ahead of the policy makers, helping to tell them what their real problems are, as well as how to use research in solving them." One may agree that this is a desirable goal to aim at, but before it is achieved opinion research must further prove itself. To play the role suggested, the sociologist would have to sit on the right side of the administrator, where he can whisper ideas in the latter's ear and put research hypotheses in front of him. While one major war agency has created such a post for an opinion consultant, who is on the staff of the top administrator, it will be some little time before this precedent is widely copied in Washington. Meanwhile opinion research must utilize the opportunities provided by operators who are at least dimly conscious that they need opinion data, and who are accessible to researchers. Opinion research must depend on good salesmanship with such people, and upon satisfied customers, to get ahead for the time being. The opinion expert acting in the role of policy adviser will come later.

SIZE OF FAMILY IN RELATION TO FAMILY INCOME AND AGE OF FAMILY HEAD

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THE FOLLOWING analysis attacks the problem of relating family size to income with some control of the age factor. There are several differences between the approach followed and the traditional methods of measurement of variations in productivity by age and income:

1. Size of family is measured in terms of children under 18 years of age rather than in relation to the usual yardstick of children under 5.
2. The unit of measurement is a family headed by a man with wife in the household. The age variable relates to the male head.
3. Family income is used as the index of economic adequacy rather than individual income.

This approach is possible for a large segment of the population of the United States and of regions because of the new and detailed tabulations of household composition and income available for the first time from the 1940 Census.

Each of the differences between this approach to family size and the traditional approach needs careful scrutiny.

In dealing with the individual family or types of families, the chief advantage of using children under 18 years of age as a measure

of family size is that they remain in the home over a longer span than children under 5 or children under 10. Hence, more time is allowed for the family to complete itself. To illustrate this advantage, the pattern of fathers' ages at birth of children and when they attain their 18th birthdays must be considered. The present pattern is roughly approximated in Table 1.

It is apparent from this table that, with assumed average age of father at birth of the first child of about 28 years and average spacing of children about 2 years apart, if the first child survives to the age of 18 and remains in the family, he is a family member from the time that the father is 28 up to the time that he is 46. On the other hand, in a four-child family, there is a space of six years between the birth of the first child and the birth of the fourth. Consequently, if the ratio of children under 5 years of age is used, the first child has passed out of the age cohort before the fourth is born. In the whole population this is no drawback to the use of the number under 5 or the number under 10 as an index of productivity because in the general population new births will offset the number aged beyond the upper limit of the group. In case of an individual family, however, the birth of each child is an independent event and reduces the probability of the birth of an additional child. Hence, when children begin to age beyond their 5th birthday, the tendency is all towards decrease in the size of family so measured without compensating increase. The use of the age span from 0 to 18, therefore, allows the average family time to complete itself when the head of the family is in the 35-44 year age group and the children are still young enough for the great majority to remain under 18 years of age and in the parental home. It also allows a longer period for reductions by mortality

TABLE 1. APPROXIMATE AGE OF FATHERS ACCORDING TO ORDER OF BIRTH OF CHILDREN¹

	<i>At Birth</i>	<i>At 18th Birthday</i>
1st Child	28	46
2nd Child	30	48
3rd Child	32	50
4th Child	34	52

¹The approximate spread of these ages should be emphasized. In reality those families which eventually become large usually have the first child earlier than the general average and conversely the first child in the 1 and 2 child families is usually born later than the average.

to convert gross number of births to net effective fertility.

Family income is in many respects a better measure of economic competence than individual income. In our economy, considerable proportions of women and minor children are compelled to work in order to supplement the inadequate wages of low wage family heads, and in these cases, economic calculations are probably more influenced by the combined incomes of the family members than they are by the earnings of the head of the family. On the other hand, a disadvantage of family income with respect to its influence on family size is found in the tendency of children 15, 16, and 17 to accept employment in order to supplement the wages of a low wage head. Family incomes also frequently include earnings of persons other than the head of the family.

Families with wage or salary incomes only are the only group for which clean-cut income data are available from the Census. These constitute about the middle and lower middle class of population. Families with incomes from other sources than wages or salaries are divided between the upper income groups who derive their support from professional fees or investments and the lower income groups who derive support from farm operations, relief payments, and other miscellaneous sources. Of all the families in the United States in 1940, 50 per cent were families with wage or salary income only.

Within the wage or salary income families, 10 per cent of the total were headed by a man without a wife or a woman without a husband. It is necessary to eliminate these families because their pattern of income is different and their child-bearing period has been interrupted. This leaves a universe of 40 percent of the families in the United States who derive their support from wages or salaries and who have both spouses present in the household. Homogeneity would be further increased if farm earners are eliminated by restricting the analysis to urban and rural non-farm families. This latter elimination was not made in the following analysis.

The exploration of the relation of income to family size is difficult because of the

tendency of the number of children to increase with the age of parent up to a certain point and the coincident tendency of income to increase with age up to a somewhat later point and the further tendency of the number of minor children present and the amount of income earned to decrease in the later years of life.

These general relationships between age of head, income, and children under 18 per family are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2. URBAN AND RURAL NON-FARM FAMILIES WITH WAGE OR SALARY INCOME ONLY, BY AGE OF HEAD, INCOME, AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE, 1939.

Age of Head ¹	(a)	
	Median Family Income ²	Average Children under 18 ³
Under 25	\$ 902	.73
25-29	1,230	1.02
30-34	1,394	1.58
35-39	1,454	
40-44	1,505	1.94
45-49	1,536	
50-54	1,540	1.46
55-59	1,434	
60-64	1,326	.69
65 and over	1,238	.31

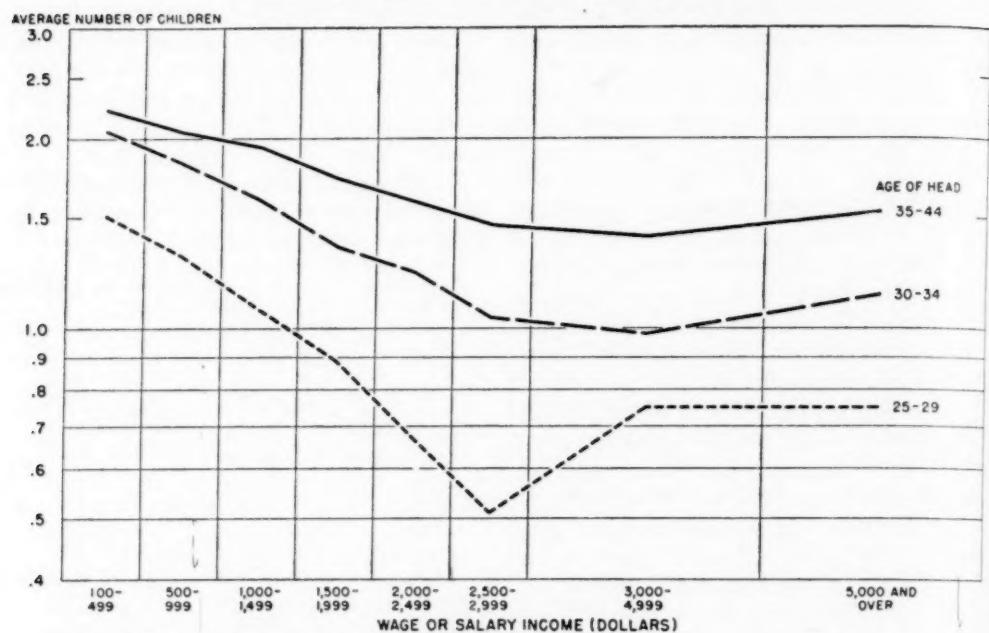
Family Income Group	(b)	
	Average Children under 18 per Family ³	
\$ 0-499	.49	
500-999	1.44	
1,000-1,499	1.33	
1,500-1,999	1.24	
2,000-2,499	1.14	
2,500-2,999	1.03	
3,000-4,999	.96	
5,000 and over	.99	

¹ U. S. Census, 1940, "Population—Families—Family Wage or Salary Income 1939," Table 8. Non-farm families only.

² Computed from U. S. Census 1940, "Population—Families—Family Wage or Salary Income 1939," Table 9. All families. Averages include a few farm wage worker families which do not materially alter the age differential but slightly increase the number of children in each age group. For method of computation, see footnote 3.

³ Computed from U. S. Census 1940, "Population—Families—Family Wage or Salary Income, 1939," Table 9. Method of computation of children by income groups involves computing the number of children in families of 3 or more children by subtraction of 1 and 2 child families from total children and multiplication of the average obtained by the number of families in each income step. Children by age of head computed similarly.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY BY AGE OF HEAD AND FAMILY INCOME, UNITED STATES, 1940 CENSUS*



*FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD, WIFE PRESENT, WAGE OR SALARY INCOME ONLY.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

It is, therefore, manifestly important to control the factor of age of parents as closely as possible. This is done in the following analysis by showing relationship of the average number of children under 18 to income level for separate groupings of family heads by age. These groupings are 25-29, 30-34, and 35-44. The position of the family in its life cycle is different in each of these periods both with respect to earning capacity and with respect to the ages of children.

Before discussing each of these groups in turn, we can consider the effect of parental income on age of marriage as the first impact of income on family formation. Two groups of unmarried males may be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy from various household composition tabulations for the Census. The first group consists of children over 18 who remain in the parental family without earning wages, and the second group consists of male heads of families without wives or children (single person families). The children over 18 are indexed by but not di-

rectly measured in Column (5) of Table 3. The index shows for one-worker families all persons over 18 in excess of two parents, but somewhat under 50 percent of these are male children remaining at home and not earning wages. The number in this group rises pronouncedly with income. This is a result of the increased prolongation of school attendance and parental support in the well-to-do families and indicates a progressively later age at which children of parents in the upper income groups marry. On the assumption that the incomes of parents are related to later incomes of their children, we evidently start with a group of males in the upper income groups who marry and begin to found families at a later age than those in the lower income group.

The second group of bachelor one-person families shows an opposite trend. This group is indexed in Column (6) of Table 3. The proportion of bachelors in the higher range of income is pronouncedly smaller than the proportion in the lower range. This is par-

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TABLE 3.—CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD, WIFE PRESENT—EXTRA ADULTS REMAINING IN HOMES OF ONE-WORKER FAMILIES AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL FAMILIES HEADED BY MALES WITHOUT WIFE OR CHILDREN BY INCOME

Income	Children under 18 per Family by Age of Head			"Extra" Persons per Family ¹	Percentage of Total Families which Are Single Person Males
	25-29	30-34	35-44		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
\$ 0- 499	1.51	2.09	2.23	.07	4.3
500- 999	1.30	1.83	2.05	.08	3.8
1,000-1,499	1.07	1.60	1.89	.17	2.5
1,500-1,999	.89	1.35	1.73	.22	1.9
2,000-2,499	.67	1.23	1.59	.29	1.6
2,500-2,999	.51	1.04	1.46	.40	1.5
3,000-4,999	.75	.98	1.40	.50	1.6
5,000 and over	.75	1.13	1.53	.50	1.7

¹ One-earner families only.

tially due to the lower incomes of younger men. This group, however, is small in relation to the total population, and it can be presumed that this factor has little relationship to the subsequent patterns of family size in the total population.

FAMILIES WITH HEAD 25-29 YEARS OF AGE

This group includes the young couples who, excepting those who will never have more than one child, have not in the majority of cases completed their families. A few who marry below the average age of marriage will have done so. It is in this group that the ignorance and improvidence that is associated with low income and high fertility may be expected to exercise the greatest influence on reproductivity. Such is the case as indicated by the size-income pattern as shown in Column (2) of Table 3. The average number of children is far higher in the income levels below \$1,000 and decreases rapidly up to the \$3,000 level, at which point there is a pronounced recovery. In the middle income range of from \$1,000 to \$3,000, it is probable that we find most of the young couples who are ambitious to improve their level of living before adding children to the family. Undoubtedly, most of them are justifiably optimistic that the income of the male breadwinner will increase at a later age.¹ It is also in this group that many working wives are concen-

trated, adding their earnings to the family incomes of small families and postponing child rearing.

The upturn in average number of children from .51 in families with \$2,500 to \$3,000 income to .75 in families with incomes of over \$3,000 is worth noting since this tendency has been remarked in other studies of more limited coverage. This, undoubtedly, reflects a greater willingness to support children in families whose head has reached an earning level which is considered adequate for working wives to return to home-making and for non-working wives to feel that the added expense of a child does not entail too great a reduction in the adequacy of family support.

FAMILIES WITH HEAD 30-34 YEARS OF AGE

Patterns of family size by income in the 25-29 age group are reflected in the subsequent 30-34 age group since many of the children born in the earlier years of marriage continue in the family while the parents are in their early thirties and only those who were born when the father was exceptionally young have passed their 18th birthday or established independent families.

The size-income pattern of this group is shown in Column (3) of Table 3. The increment above the carry-over from earlier ages is shown by subtracting Column (2) of Table 3 from Column (3). This subtraction is shown in Table 4.

¹ Average wages of workers covered by social insurance advance up to late middle age.

TABLE 4. AVERAGE CHILDREN UNDER 18 BY AGE OF HEAD AND INCOME

Income	Age of Head		Difference
	25-29	30-34	
\$ 0- 499	1.51	2.09	.58
500- 999	1.30	1.83	.53
1,000-1,499	1.07	1.60	.53
1,500-1,999	.89	1.35	.46
2,000-2,499	.67	1.23	.56
2,500-2,999	.51	1.04	.53
3,000-4,999	.75	.98	.23
5,000 and over	.75	1.13	.38

The tendency to excess natality in the group with incomes of under \$1,000 is not so exaggerated among the 30-34 year old family heads as it is in the previous age bracket. In other words the association of ignorance and improvidence with low income is not so pronounced among the older couples. The increment in the average children per family in these lowest income groups are about the same as that in the income brackets between \$1,000 and \$3,000. Whereas at age 25-29, families with incomes \$2,500-3,000, had only one-third as many children as families with incomes \$0-500, in the age bracket 30-34, they had half as many. In other words, in the ages 30-34, the middle income families seem to make up some of the deficit in children which occurred in the previous five years. Above the \$3,000 level the increased family size which was manifest in the previous age bracket does not appear pronounced until the \$5,000 level is reached, since the rate of increment in the average family size at these upper income levels is smaller than in the middle range of income. The probable explanation of this fluctuation arises from the fact that most of these upper income families have completed their size in the younger age bracket. The configuration of the increase seems to indicate that if finer graduations of the data were available, the most revealing comparison between the two age levels would not be between families of the same income class but between families at a slightly higher income level during the second age span, since average wages of the individual male worker tend to increase about \$200 in these five years.

FAMILIES WITH HEAD 35-44 YEARS OF AGE

This is the most significant age group at

which to measure family size by means of the average number of children under 18 years of age because there is still carry-over in the family of children born in the previous age brackets and the average family size is still increasing slightly due to the fact that children added when the parents are in this age span are somewhat more numerous than children who attain their 18th birthday or establish independent families. It is during this period that most of the 3 or more child families reach their maximum size under the parental roof tree and that considerable proportion of the members of the 2 and 3 child families are still under 18. Some of the first-born children will have passed the age 18 in this period, but, as we have noted, they are more than offset by the additional births that occur. The size-income pattern of this group is shown in Column (4) of Table 3 and its relationship to the preceding period is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5. AVERAGE CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE PER FAMILY BY AGE OF HEAD

Income	Age of Head		Difference
	30-34	35-44	
\$ 0- 499	2.06	2.23	.17
500- 999	1.83	2.05	.22
1,000-1,499	1.60	1.89	.29
1,500-1,999	1.35	1.73	.38
2,000-2,499	1.23	1.59	.36
2,500-2,999	1.04	1.46	.42
3,000-4,999	.98	1.40	.42
5,000 and over	1.13	1.53	.40

The difference between the average number of children in families whose head is 35-44 and those whose head is 30-34 indicates the extent to which there is some net increment in family size in the latter age group. However, it must be remembered that this net increment is a result of turnover and is affected both by new additions to the family group and by departures from the family group and these trends tend to work in opposite directions as income increases. Likewise, the number of older children in many families tend to increase the family income by accepting employment below the age of 18. In the income levels below \$1,000 at this age, we again note that the excess fertility of the younger years does not seem to continue. It seems probable that the grad-

ual rise in the average size of the family with incomes of \$1,000 and over is more largely the result of the tendency of the children in the upper income families to remain in the home longer than the teen-age children who leave the low income families to work for themselves. In the income levels of over \$2,500 there may be some differential in fertility owing to the later marriage

the birth of their first child in determining the eventual family pattern is shown in Table 6 which shows the percentage of families without children and the number of children in families with children. (The averages in Table 2 include families with and without children.)

The percentage of childless couples is low in the families with less than \$1,000 even

TABLE 6. CHILDREN IN FAMILIES BY AGE OF FAMILY HEAD AND FAMILY INCOME. (FAMILIES IN THE NON-FARM POPULATION WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME ONLY)

Income Class	Age 25-29		Age 30-34		Age 35-44	
	Percent of Families with No Children	Average Children per Family with Children	Percent of Families with No Children	Average Children per Family with Children	Percent of Families with No Children	Average Children per Family with Children
\$ 1- 499	25	2.00	20	2.64	22	2.98
500- 999	28	1.83	22	2.38	23	2.73
1,000-1,499	33	1.55	23	2.09	23	2.57
1,500-1,999	42	1.51	27	1.93	24	2.17
2,000-2,499	54	1.47	34	1.82	27	2.17
2,500-2,999	63	1.40	40	1.75	30	2.11
3,000-4,999	60	1.36	49	1.74	32	2.01
5,000 and over	45	1.35	34	1.77	28	2.12

of these couples, but, on the whole, it would seem that the increase in number of children under 18 is largely due to the greater extent to which they remain in the family of upper income groups and to the extent to which their earnings supplement the family incomes of some families.

No effort has been made in this analysis to measure the relative effect of mortality of children under 18 years of age at different income levels, although it is known that such differential exists. Such effect as can be attributed to this source might account for part of the relative slackening increase in low income families as the family head grows older.

A second difficulty with the technique of comparing one age bracket with the preceding age bracket is that the family size in each age group is the accumulation of the family experience over a preceding period of time and both fertility patterns and income change with time (Table 2). Such comparisons as are shown in the preceding tables must, therefore, be interpreted as indices of general relationship rather than direct measurements.

The significance of the age of parents at

at an early age but rises rapidly up to the \$3,000 level when it declines somewhat. In families with heads 35-44, however, there is less differential in the percentage of childless couples throughout the income scale. This suggests that the levelling out of the size of family by income in the later age group is largely a phenomenon of decrease in childless couples. This is emphasized by the fact that between the age groups 25-29 and 35-44 the increase in family size of families which do have children does not vary greatly with income, ranging from .98 in the lowest income class to .65 in the next highest.

SUMMARY

The most pronounced relationship between family income and family size appears when the father is below 30 years of age. When the family head is young, there is strong negative relationship between income and family size up to the \$3,000 income level, above which there is some upturn in number of children in excess of the number in the lower income groups.

The effects of these differentials which occur at an early age persist up to the middle

of the life cycle, since these children continue in the family. Later variations of size by income are by no means so pronounced, as there is a tendency of middle income groups to "catch up" in family size in their thirties. In the later ages families with income below \$1,000 do not manifest the excessive birth rate of such families in the earlier ages. Likewise, the slight upturn in family size of families with income of \$3,000 and over tends to level off at later ages.

It is a well-established fact that over the past 30 years the differential between the birth rates of the various income classes has tended to become narrower. The first thought will be that this would cause a wider differential in family size among those families whose head is now 35-44 than among those whose head is under 30. Since this is not the case, it seems probable that the extent of the narrowing of the size range which is attributable to fertility variation is largely due to the later age of marriage and to the fact that the excess fertility of low income groups no longer extends as late in life as it did in previous years.

The relationship of income to fertility would be more measurable if it were possible to segregate the incomes and composition of single earner families. In the younger age bracket, the effect of working wives is to increase family income and decrease family size. In the older age bracket, the presence of children under 18 in the family whose head earns low wages is likely to mean that they will accept employment, thereby increasing the average income of the larger families. However, in families whose children are all born after the father is 20 years of age, the earnings of children do not affect family income appreciably until the father is past 35 years of age.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POPULATION POLICY

The extent to which these relationships between age, income, and family size are valid measures of the influence of economic

level on family size is of primary importance to any population policy which is designed to increase the number of children in the families most capable of affording them a satisfactory level of living. If, as appears likely from the foregoing analysis, the effects of income on the family size operate most directly when fathers are under 30 years of age and if the subsequent family pattern is largely the result of the experience at this early age, then the most effective policy looking towards expansion will be that which exerts the greatest influence on young married couples and places emphasis on the first child.

This is the opposite of the operations of most systems of family allowances now in effect. Practically all of these exclude the first child and some exclude the second and third children before any allowances are paid. Such systems do not affect the family economy until the birth of the second child when the parents are older and their earnings have increased. It would be expected that such systems, while alleviating poverty in large families, would not tend to increase the birth rate materially.

It is problematical whether direct assistance in behalf of children would materially change the birth rate in families below the \$1,000 income level, since it would seem that the higher birth rate in this group is controlled by disregard rather than regard for family financial competence.

If, on the other hand, an income level of about \$3,000 is the point at which under our present standards of living young couples are willing to start families, then it would seem that a moderate system of family allowances or subsidies would have more effect on those families in which the father is earning about \$2,500, since this basic income plus the subsidy would increase the total family resources to about the level considered adequate for child support in middle class families.

OFFICIAL REPORTS and PROCEEDINGS



ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CANCELLATION OF THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

After careful consideration the Executive Committee has voted to cancel the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society scheduled for Chicago, December 29-30, 1944. It was also voted to publish the collected papers in a single regular issue of the *American Sociological Review*.

Of the 20 members of the Executive Committee eligible to vote, 18 responded to the ballot and the vote was 15 to 3 for cancellation. There were weighty reasons for this decision. Chicago, the chosen place of meeting, proved to be the cross roads of all East and West travel. All the hotels were crowded and we found it impossible to reserve a hotel for December 2-3 as originally planned. The only date we could secure was a period of maximum travel, December 29-30. A poll of the Administration Committee on the proposal to change the meeting to St. Louis, January 19-20, resulted in a tie vote.

But at any event, the Society would have been faced with the problem of cancellation. Urgent requests from the Office of Defense Transportation have pointed out the strain on transportation facilities and the need to conserve space for movements of troops and for the wounded returning from theaters of war.

Many of our leading members are in government service and government bureaus are refusing travel requests to their employees who wish to attend meetings during the Christmas holidays.

The Executive Committee also voted not to attempt to arrange for another meeting before the time for the next regular meeting. We are agreed as to the desirability of regional meetings wherever they can be held and count on the regional societies to keep up the interest in sociology.

In view of the decision to publish the papers it is hoped that they will all be pushed forward to completion. Section chairmen are asked to see that their programs are completed and papers sent in to the Editors of the *Review* as soon as possible.* We are assured that all which meet editorial standards will be published, probably in the April issue. Reports of regular committees and other business of the Society will be published in due order under the usual heading "Proceedings" in the *Review*.

Rupert B. Vance, President

* February 10, 1945 is the dead-line date, for manuscripts to be published in the April 1945 issue.

CURRENT ITEMS



COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

A NOTE ON MYRDAL'S "NOTES ON

FACTS AND VALUATIONS,"

APPENDIX 2 OF AN
AMERICAN DILEMMA

In an appendix to his recent two-volume summary work on the Negro, Gunnar Myrdal invokes the belabored problem of the position of valuations in social science. Myrdal's standpoint is not unique and, with modifications, has been presented by Robert S. Lynd in his *Knowledge for What?* and by Morris Cohen in his *Reason and Nature* as well as by other social thinkers. Essentially it holds that social science cannot avoid value judgments, that bias in the social sciences is largely a function of hidden social valuations, and that the remedy lies not in attempts to eliminate the valuations but in the explicit statement of what these judgments are. "Valuations are present in our problems even if we pretend to expel them. The attempt to eradicate biases by trying to keep out the valuations themselves is a hopeless and misdirected venture."¹

In a section on "The History and Logic of the Hidden Valuations in Social Science," Myrdal attempts to show how the concepts of the "mores and social forces" have operated as "static and fatalistic value premises" supporting a do-nothing philosophy.

Four significant errors are committed in this line of reasoning. The first involves the definition and use of the term, valuation. On page 1027 Myrdal defines a valuation as people's "ideas about how it (reality) ought to be, or ought to have been." But Myrdal does not adhere strictly to this definition when he argues, as others have before him, that the selection of what is relevant for research or for interpretation within a research is a matter of choice and that ". . . every choice involves valuations. One does not escape valuations by restricting

¹ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1944, vol. 2, p. 1043. (Reviewed, *American Sociological Review*, 1944, 9:326-330.)

his research to the discussion of 'facts.'"² In terms of Myrdal's own definition of a valuation, his statement just isn't so. It has the ring of truth because the reader—and apparently the author—is tempted to violate what semanticians call "the canon of singularity"³ which states that a word-symbol denotes only one referent and that symbols of identical physical structure used to signify other referents constitute a different word. Thus one should not confuse top₁ (spinning) with top₂ (mountain) nor should he commit the semantic error common to certain Pacific Coast patriots who confuse Jap₁ (enemy) with Jap₂ (American citizen of Japanese descent or loyal alien). But Myrdal's error here is of this nature. This becomes clear if we substitute his original definition of a valuation for the homonymous symbol appearing in the above quotation. Then we get ". . . every choice involves an idea about how reality ought to be, or ought to have been. One does not escape ideas about how reality ought to be, or ought to have been, by restricting his research to the discussion of 'facts.'"⁴ Is this true when applied to the use of scientific method? If one studies, for example, the attitudes of Negroes toward whites, does he have to be possessed of ideas about how this reality, these attitudes, *should* be? Or can he, in the application of scientific techniques, divorce concern for what should be from his attempts to find out what is?

Myrdal's error is semantic because his statement can be made true if the key term, valuation, is differently defined. But as it stands it is patently false.

Further evidence of the shifty referents for the concept, 'valuation,' is provided in Myrdal's attack on certain American sociologists (Sumner, Park, Ogburn, and others) alleged to have adopted "static and fatalistic value premises" that "have actually imbedded themselves into the data."⁵ Myrdal writes:

² *Ibid.*, p. 1058.

³ C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning*.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 1053.

⁵ *Ibid.*,
⁶ *Ibid.*,
⁷ Whet
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⁸ *Ibid.*,
⁹ *Ibid.*

The social scientists we have cited could not have reached their negative views on planned and induced social change unless guided by a set of general assumptions in their selection and interpretation of empirical data. This implies that they have introduced valuations along with facts in deriving conclusions relative to what can be and should be the nature of man's practical efforts.⁸

Unless it is held that such assumptions as are usually employed in the selection and interpretation of empirical data necessarily involve ideas about how the reality to which the data refer ought to be, this argument is a *non-sequitur*—a *non sequitur* occasioned by the changed meaning of the word, 'valuation.'

Again with reference to Sumner, Park, and Ogburn, Myrdal says, "From certain observations concerning the causation of a social phenomenon we jump to the valuational conclusion that we can do nothing to change this phenomenon because it has such and such a causation."⁹ The conclusion cited¹⁰ is not necessarily a "valuational conclusion" in Myrdal's own original sense of the word. If it were, any statement of a pessimistic nature could be passed off by the normative scientists as a "hidden value premise." Myrdal himself recognizes that "on theoretical grounds some practical goals can be shown to be futile—that is, impossible of execution."¹¹ It would seem, then, that these sociologists are accused of hidden biases not so much because they have been proved wrong in holding certain types of social change to be difficult of achievement, but because Myrdal doesn't agree with them.

Myrdal goes on to charge Sumner, Park, and Ogburn with having committed "the specific logical error . . . of inferring from the facts (of social causation) that men can and should make no effort to change the 'natural' outcome of the specific forces observed."¹² Myrdal has correctly limned the error in Park's cliche, "Nothing ought to be done which cannot be done." But in the case of the other men and in terms of scientific theory itself, Myrdal is forcing his argument here when he joins the "should" to the "can." It is possible to divorce consideration of what is from what should be. One can conceive of sociologists testing a theory of social causation that teaches the futility of human

effort in inducing social change without imputing conservative motives to the theorists. To attempt to criticize a theory by vitiating the motives of the theorist is to argue *ad hominem*. This is Myrdal's "specific logical error," the type of error characteristic of a layman's sociology of knowledge. And to be subsumed under the mistake of arguing *ad hominem* is the further error implied in Myrdal's reasoning, namely, the genetic fallacy—the notion that you disprove a man's argument if you show why he is arguing as he does.

A second weakness of Myrdal's thesis is apparent in the circularity involved in his device for the selection of value premises to be used in social research. *"The value premises should be selected by the criterion of relevance and significance to the culture under study."*¹³ And "relevance is determined by the interests and ideals of actual persons and groups of persons."¹⁴ This is tantamount to saying that value premises are determined by value premises without arriving at a satisfactory ultimate value.¹⁵ It presents an impossible task where people within a culture are not agreed about their "interests and ideals" and makes it possible to argue that the thesis of *An American Dilemma* is unsupported because, by these tenets, it is biased against the white Southerner since most of this group do not accept the "American credo" used by Myrdal as his key value premise.

A third criticism may be directed against Myrdal's suggestion that bias is eliminated by making the value premises explicit. *"There is no other device for excluding biases in social sciences than to face the valuations and to introduce them as explicitly stated, specific, and sufficiently concretized value premises."*¹⁶ Does this recommendation take into account the nature of bias? All biases are not conscious mental sets (*Aufgaben*) as this rule implies, but are frequently unconscious (*Einstellungen*). How, then, make them explicit? Can the biased man always know himself?

And, if one is able to state explicitly what his valuations are, how does this affect the appli-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1045 (italics in original).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1060.

¹² (To the Editors' query about the context in which the word "ultimate" is used the author replied: "Anent your question on my use of the phrase, 'ultimate value,' I mean to denote by this a final, elemental or more pertinently, a criterion value as per Webster. For scientific purposes this need not be a 'universal.'

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1043 (italics in original).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1052.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1052.

¹⁰ Whether this is actually the type of conclusion at which these sociologists arrive is another matter.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1059.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1052.

cation of a scientific technique? Do Myrdal's efforts at concretizing his valuations inherent in The American Credo affect in any way scientifically discovered and verifiable facts about, say, Negro biology or the "Negro's share?"

Lastly, Myrdal's critique of non-evaluative science is founded on a misconception of the meaning of such a discipline. When it is said that science is non-evaluative it is not implied that values are not operating in the determination of what is significant for research nor that valuations themselves cannot be the object of research, but only that the method called scientific can best be performed if the problem of valuation is left aside during the procedure. It is significant here to note that Myrdal nowhere defines what he means by "science," and much of his confusion derives from this lack of definition. By "science" one may intend either a body of knowledge or a method, and it is difficult to know to which Myrdal is referring in his methodological discussion. If he means the former, he has fought straw men. If he is referring to the latter—and this seems to be his intent—he has failed to establish his thesis that a method for the acquisition of information about the conditions under which social events occur can only operate when it explicitly states how these social events *should* occur.

As a person I may agree with the values of other social scientists, including Myrdal, but there is no need to allow these values to pervert scientific method. Indeed the factual findings of non-evaluative scientific research may be the very props under certain of these personal values. All the more reason then, from a personal point of view, for keeping the method of acquiring facts pure.

Gwynne Nettler

Reed College

TO THE EDITOR:

In your April, 1944, issue of the *American Sociological Review*, under the section of Current Items, I had the opportunity of reading Albert E. Croft's statement, "Undergraduate Training for Community Participation." As a member of the American Sociological Society I would like to present, somewhat belatedly, my impressions of the article as they may be of some interest to the *Review*.

On the whole I rather resented Mr. Croft's article as he impressed me as being less interested in whether sociological students received community training for their practical educational background than in the terms of value such trained students would have for the or-

ganization with which he is affiliated. His statements on what sociologists should and shouldn't do struck me as being too positivistic, didactic and broad.

Mr. Croft raises the question: should the prime purpose of sociological departments on the undergraduate level be to develop understanding concerning the nature and problems of society regardless of whether the student has a practical appreciation of what he is receiving? This question he answers with an emphatic no and points out that sociology's mission is to train people for life and living in organized communities in addition to other purposes. Mr. Croft feels there is no existing agency set up for the purpose of training people for life. I shudder to think of the millions of people who are untrained, going around bumping their heads against stone walls, and storming social work agencies and certain departments of sociology by the thousands crying for the esoteric knowledge these have on living in organized communities. Evidently, judging from the article, if an undergraduate during his or her vacation, after finishing the junior year of college, spends part of the time in a settlement house for a few hours a week, trying to keep the older children from walking up the walls and the younger ones busy cutting out paper dolls, he or she is trained for life's struggle. Likewise, if the assignment is a family case work agency the life training schedule may call for spending half of the time in reading case histories, which could be done as easily in school, and the remainder in telling two or three clients that they must watch their family budget, reproduction rate and change their attitude on life after some forty-five years.

Further on in his article Mr. Croft mentions the uncooperation between intellectual leadership (sociology) and practical leadership (social work), and he feels that the latter has not been realistic enough to team up with those who could help them in their efforts. He seems to overlook entirely the possibility that perhaps practical leadership has been too realistic for the intellectual and he assumes quite a bit when he feels that social work needs help from the intellectuals. From the general tenor of the article it would appear that sociology needs more help from social work than conversely. It is because of this "duality," he feels, undergraduates are rejected as social work apprentices and are considered unprofessional. These undergraduates are thus frustrated in their drive for community and citizenship training.

It appears that it never dawned on Mr. Croft

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that social work on the professional level has been functioning for a number of years and is in a much better position to decide when and with what background whom to train as apprentice professional social workers.

Mr. Croft pushes on with: "social workers cannot curb citizenship training activities for qualified selected young adults." For Mr. Croft citizenship training, community training and social work apprenticeship all have the same meaning. When social work agencies reject Mr. Croft's neophyte apprentices they are not rejecting immature, unsophisticated, late adolescents, but real, young, red-blooded American youth striving for the secret of citizenship and community training that social workers are so jealously guarding.

Karl de Schweinitz is quoted by Mr. Croft in that he found more graduates from unaccredited curriculums in social work than of accredited schools in social work, and then goes on to point out that eighty odd young men and women who were his former students would not have entered the fields of public assistance if they had not been assigned to work in agencies during their senior year. It is my opinion, if these same eighty odd students had no more training for social work than in doing field work in their senior year as well as some undergraduate work, Karl de Schweinitz had them in mind when he mentioned "graduates from unaccredited curriculums."

Further on in his article Mr. Croft makes the statement: "It is also conceivable that some undergraduate departments in social science are superior to some accredited social work schools." What is conceivable to Mr. Croft is inconceivable to me. It is beyond me how anyone could make such a statement unless they were unaware of the standards of accredited schools of social work as laid down by the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

Off hand I would say Mr. Croft has an axe to grind with professional social workers which is perfectly ethical as far as I am concerned. However, under the smoke screen of "intellectual leadership," "realistic leadership," "duality," "practical appreciation," etc., I can not help but feel Mr. Croft is trying to lure sociologists over into the field of social work with the feeling that sociology students will thus get an "appreciation of what he is receiving."

Some of his other *bonnes phrases* are: "Ordinarily no one department can satisfy the needs of social work schools for students with a broad liberal arts background," which I always thought was the function of a four years course in a

college of arts and pure science, and "nor can any one department alone prepare young adults for participation in community life." What a four years' college course, together with a major in a department of one of the social sciences, cannot do Mr. Croft proposes or claims to be able to do with his "college unit" as an extracurricular activity.

Personally I have the highest regard for the American Red Cross, having drunk much of their coffee, lounged around in their over seas clubs and followed the crowd around on some of their sponsored tours. My quarrel is rather with Mr. Croft for writing an article under the guise of community training when it's really advocating the establishment of junior schools of social work on the undergraduate level in departments of sociology. There is no doubt that his program would give a degree of community training, but to feel that you are turning out social workers of professional stature is another question. However, in my opinion, sociology has enough to do in trying to delimit its field of activity than in branching out into that of social work under the delusion that it is giving its students "practical appreciation of what he is receiving" and that it is making a contribution to the war effort.

Sincerely Yours,

CPL. RAYMOND A. MULLIGAN

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(*Editorial note:* The assumed lack of coordinated efforts in social work education outlined in the April 1944 issue of the *Review* by Mr. Croft and commented upon by Corporal Mulligan delineates a problem which the Association of Schools of Social Work has systematically studied for some time. In a later issue we hope to publish a statement by Mrs. Anne F. Fenlason, Co-chairman of a joint committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work and the newly organized National Association of Schools of Social Administration which will summarize the program to date toward an orderly solution of this problem. Meanwhile attention may be called to an article, "Undergraduate Training," by Mrs. Fenlason which appeared in the *Survey Midmonthly* of September 1944.)

DWIGHT SANDERSON (1878-1944)

Dwight Sanderson, former President of the American Sociological Society and of the Rural Sociological Society, one of the leading rural sociologists in the Nation, died at his home in

Ithaca, New York, on September 27, 1944. His death occurred almost exactly a year after his retirement as Head of the Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell University.

Following retirement, Dr. Sanderson went to Florida in the hope of improving his health. He was stricken while returning to Ithaca from the South, his condition necessitating interruption of the journey at Washington, D.C., where he was removed to a hospital.

Dr. Sanderson was a native of Clio, Michigan, and was born September 23, 1878, the son of John P. and Alice G. (Wright) Sanderson. He and Anna Cecilia Bandford were married in September 1899 and she survives with their daughter, Alice, and two brothers—Ross W. Sanderson, New York City, and John P. Sanderson, who is associated with the U. S. War Manpower Commission in Washington, D.C. Burial was in Ithaca, New York.

One could not know Dwight Sanderson and his work without being reminded of Lester F. Ward, for Sanderson was a nationally known "exact scientist" who turned to the field of sociology. He received his B.S. degree at Michigan State College of Agriculture in 1897 and another B.S. degree in agriculture, specializing in entomology, at Cornell in 1898. He worked in the field of entomology for 20 years. In that field he established a national reputation in the fields of research and administration, serving successively in Maryland, Delaware, Texas, New Hampshire and West Virginia. During the 20 years, 1898-1917, he published four books and 50 articles on entomological problems. From 1904-07 he was professor of zoology and State Entomologist at New Hampshire State College, was Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at New Hampshire from 1907-10, and Dean of the College of Agriculture in West Virginia from 1910-15. He was at one time President of the American Economic Entomology Association.

After two decades of professional work in what is generally described as "technical agriculture" he turned to the field of sociology; entered the University of Chicago in 1917 to take graduate work and received his Doctor's degree in sociology at that University in 1921. During the 25 years as a sociologist his training and work in the field of more exact sciences clearly reflected themselves in his and his students' contributions.

Sanderson became Head of the Department of Rural Organization at Cornell University in 1918. The Department, the first to be estab-

lished at a college of agriculture, had been organized three years previously. He labored in this position for 25 years during which time he made a contribution equal or superior to that which he had made to the field of entomology. In addition to 5 books, he published 17 research bulletins, most of them from the Experiment Station at Cornell, 48 articles in scientific journals and magazines, and a very extensive list of reports, proceedings and book reviews. During the 25 years 40 students received Doctor's degrees in rural sociology at Cornell. Their dissertations, together with a large number of Master's dissertations, are in a very direct way an extension of the contributions of Sanderson to the developing body of research and literature in the field of rural sociology.

Cornell has for years been almost a center for the training of foreign agricultural students. Because of this fact, Sanderson probably had a greater contact with and a greater hand in training rural sociologists, rural welfare workers, and other agriculturists who are now operating in the various nations throughout the world than any other rural sociologist. He was, therefore, probably better known internationally than any member of the rural sociology professional group.

Typical of the scientific training and experience which he had in entomology, Sanderson selected the field of rural social structure, chiefly locality group structure, and for 25 years systematically pursued this line of structural analysis. This is not to say that he and his students overlooked lines of functional analysis but that with definite design he assiduously pursued principally locality group studies because he believed devotedly that all science is built out of a steady, persistent study and analysis of phenomena. No other rural sociologist in the United States, unless it be Dr. C. J. Galpin, has made the systematic substantial contribution to his chosen field that Sanderson made during his lifetime, notwithstanding the fact that he entered the field of sociology after having given two decades of professional work to another field.

In addition to scholarly or scientific work, teaching and research, Sanderson made more than his share of contributions to the field of rural welfare. He was the first Secretary of the American Country Life Association, for years member of its Board and later President of the Association. He helped to organize the rural sociological section of the American Sociological Society and was its first chairman, helped to

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organize the Rural Sociological Society and was its first president. He was a member of practically every policy and major activity committee in the field of rural sociology and rural social action for 25 years. When the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare was established in 1919, when the Purnell Bill was passed in 1926, greatly expanding the Federal funds available for rural social research, and when rural sociology extension work was first launched, Sanderson, in every case, was on the planning and policy or advisory committee. He went to Washington in 1933 to guide the organization of Federal Emergency Relief Administration social analysis and planning. He always had a hand in similar activities in the State of New York.

As a social scientist Sanderson's work has been critically and carefully done. As a teacher of graduate work he was kindly but always critical, with the result that there is a greater number of prominent rural sociologists in the professional fields trained by him than by any other one man. Theses written under his supervision have been worthy of publication by Cornell University and their publication has placed many young rural sociologists on the recognized ladder of their profession. He built 25 years of his life's work into a body of rural sociological knowledge. His contribution can never be separated from the rural sociology of the future.

CARL C. TAYLOR

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The *War Department* has announced the establishment of a Correction Division in the Office of the Adjutant General to coordinate and standardize the rehabilitation and control of all military prisoners. The new agency has staff jurisdiction over the Army's disciplinary barracks, rehabilitation center, post stockades and guardhouses, as well as installations for the detention and rehabilitation of general and garrison prisoners in overseas theaters of operation. At present the War Department operates 10 institutions for general prisoners in the United States, including two maximum-security and two medium-security disciplinary barracks, and six rehabilitation centers. Two additional medium-security disciplinary barracks are being activated.

A Board of Consultants composed of civilian authorities in the correctional field has been established to assist the Correction Division in setting and maintaining high standards. Military personnel with successful civilian experience in correctional work are being assigned in increasing numbers in the institutions and at headquarters. Serving on this Board, in addition to Austin H. McCormick, Con-

sultant to the Under Secretary of War on matters relating to military penology, are the following: Sanford Bates, Commissioner of the New York State Division of Parole; James V. Bennett, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons; Edward R. Cass, General Secretary of the American Prison Association; Reed Cozart, Associate Warden of the U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas; William J. Ellis, Commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies; Dr. Garrett Heyns, Director of the Michigan State Department of Corrections; Warden Walter A. Hunter, U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas; Richard A. McGee, Director of the California State Department of Corrections; and Warden Joseph Sanford, U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia.

The *Indiana Academy of Social Sciences* held its annual meeting in the Memorial Union Building, Purdue University, October 20-21, 1944. In addition to joint general meetings, there were separate sectional meetings of economists, political scientists, and sociologists. The president of the Academy for the past year has been Dr. J. Roy Leevy, Associate Professor of Sociology at Purdue.

Pi Lambda Theta, National Education Association for Women, has announced awards available for 1945 for research on the topic: Professional Problems of Women. Two awards of \$400 each are to be granted on or before August 15, 1945 for significant research in education. Completed studies must be submitted by July 15, 1945. Full information may be obtained from: May V. Seagoe, Chairman, Committee on Studies and Awards, Pi Lambda Theta, University of California, Los Angeles 24, California.

Dr. Conrad Taeuber reports that his office has on hand a number of copies of the "Report of the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to the Council" and also a number of copies of a thirty-two page pamphlet entitled, "UNRRA: Organization, Aims and Progress." Copies will be sent to anyone who asks for them, so long as the supply lasts.

The producers of *March of Time* announce a new Forum Edition, a special adaptation—in 16 mm. and cut to run in twelve or fifteen minutes—of the regular *March of Time* which will be available to educators on a rental basis (8 films for \$20.00 or \$3.00 per film) directly from the home offices. Only those series of the regular *March of Time* which have special educational significance will be re-edited for the Forum Edition. Discussion Outlines containing study questions and bibliographies are available in advance for each subject. Interested persons should write directly to: *March of Time*, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Bureau of Urban Research of *Princeton University* has announced that copies of *SELECTED*

ITEMS—digests of periodical articles, pamphlets, books, and other publications concerned with city problems—which formerly were sent on a complimentary basis to a selected list of organizations and individuals may now be obtained by anyone on request.

Bucknell University. Dr. Arthur Wood, recently of the University of Buffalo, joined the Department of Sociology on November 1.

Capital University. Dr. Carl F. Reuss has resigned from the State College of Washington to accept a position as acting head of the newly created Department of Sociology.

Dr. Ruth A. Inglis, formerly of Smith College, is now with the *Commission on the Freedom of the Press*.

Kent State University. Dr. John F. Cuber, after seven years in this department, has resigned to accept a position as Associate Professor of Sociology at The Ohio State University. Dr. Delbert C. Miller, formerly of the Department of Sociology of the State College of Washington and the War Labor Board, has been added to the staff as Associate Professor.

Massachusetts State College. Mr. Jay Henry Korson, formerly Instructor of Economics and Sociology at Bowdoin College, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology.

Northwestern University. Dr. Paul Meadows has accepted a position at Montana State University as assistant director of the Study of Montana Life and Tradition recently sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation. He has recently published several articles in the field of social theory and is engaged in writing a volume on the social aspects of industrialism. Professor Ernest R. Mowrer is editing a series for F. S. Crofts. Mrs. Charlotte Chorpenning, who was retired two years ago, was employed by U.S.O. as leader of their dramatics training program, on leave from her position as director of the school of the theater at the Chicago Art Institute. Dr. A. J. Todd, retired, continues to arbitrate employer disputes for the War Labor Board. Professor Thomas D. Eliot participated in the regional conference of Community Chests and Councils at Lake Geneva and in the summer institute of the Society for Social Research.

State College of Washington. Dr. T. H. Kennedy of Middle Tennessee State College has accepted a position as assistant professor of Sociology. Mr. John Edlefson, M.A. 1941, has accepted a position as assistant in the Department. Dr. H. Ashley Weeks continues on leave with the Morale Services of the United States Army and is now somewhere in the South Pacific. Dr. Henry J. Meyer continues on

leave with the War Labor Board in Washington, D.C. Dr. Fred R. Yoder has returned to his position as Head of the Department of Sociology after a year's leave in service with the Army Air Corps.

Temple University. Dr. Negley K. Teeters, assistant professor of sociology at Temple University, has returned to the campus from a four-month tour of Central and South American countries where he studied the penal systems and prisons. Dr. Teeters visited Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Brazil. He received authorization from the State Department for the tour. In discussing the trip Dr. Teeters said that the officials of the countries he visited were eager to exchange information with those handling the penal problems in the United States. "They are most anxious to learn our methods for the handling of criminals and in solving the problem of juvenile delinquency," Dr. Teeters said. "South America doesn't have a crime problem such as exists in the United States, for there are no organized gangs. The biggest problem they face is the elimination of petty stealing. The penal systems of the Central and South American countries run from antiquated to good, and Brazil and Argentina have the most progressive methods not only in handling criminals but also in the matter of construction."

Dr. Robert L. McNamara, formerly with the College of Agriculture of Ohio State University, has accepted a position with the *United States Public Health Service*.

Dr. Lewis A. Dexter of the University of Talladega has been appointed Visiting Professor in the Social Sciences at the *University of Puerto Rico*.

University of Maine. Miss Margaret S. Wilson, formerly assistant in Rural Sociology at Cornell University, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology.

University of South Dakota. Dr. A. L. Lincoln has been promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor of Social Work. Professor Reuben Hill has accepted a position as Associate Professor of Sociology at Iowa State College beginning with the winter quarter.

Wayne University. Melvin J. Tumin (Ph.D. Northwestern 1944) has been appointed instructor in anthropology. Frank E. Hartung, former special instructor, has been appointed instructor in sociology. H. Warren Dunham, assistant professor of sociology, is on leave with the Research Division, Office of War Information, for the winter semesters. He is also teaching a course on "The City" at Howard University. Norman Daymond Humphrey, assistant professor of anthropology, taught during the summer of 1944 at the University of Texas and is on leave from Wayne for the winter semesters.

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Margaret S. Wilson, Sociology at Cornell. Instructor in Sociology

Dr. A. L. Lincoln, of Assistant Professor Reuben Hill has Professor of Sociology beginning with the

J. Tumin (Ph.D.) appointed instructor in Sociology, former special instructor in Sociology. Assistant professor of Sociology Research Division, the winter semesters on "The City" at Raymond Humphrey, Sociology, taught during the winter semesters

as a Rackham Fellow doing anthropological field work in Mexico. Donald C. Marsh, former assistant professor, has been appointed associate professor of sociology. Marsh has just published, through Wayne University Press, a summary of the findings of the Negro-Jewish relations study he has been conducting under the joint auspices of the Jewish Community Council, Detroit N.A.A.C.P., and Wayne University. Elizabeth Brinton Lee (Ph.D. Yale 1937) has been appointed instructor in sociology in the Wayne School of Nursing. Collerohe Krassovsky (Ph.D. Michigan 1937) has been appointed a special lecturer in social science.

Other new special lecturers or instructors in the department are: W. A. Goldberg (Ph.D. Northwestern 1940), governmental analyst, City Controller's Office, Detroit; Beulah B. Whitby, associate director, Mayor's Interracial Commission, Detroit; Hazel Osborne, associate professor of social work, Wayne; and Richardson L. Rice, associate director, Methodist Children's Home Society, Detroit.

Dr. R. Clyde White, who has been Professor of Social Service Administration at Chicago since 1936, has been appointed as Professor of Public Welfare in the School of Applied Social Sciences at *Western Reserve University*.

Yale University. Maurice R. Davie has been granted a leave of absence for a year to direct a study on the refugee problem, under the auspices of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe, of which Dr. Alvin Johnson is Chairman. His headquarters are at 139 Centre Street, New York 13, New York. Bernard J. Stern, of Columbia University, will be visiting professor the coming academic year. He will give courses on race and culture contact and on sociological aspects of medicine. James G. Leyburn has resumed his academic duties after spending a year in South Africa on a Lend-Lease mission. He is serving as acting chairman of the department.

Raymond Kennedy, who has written extensively on the Netherlands East Indies, is consultant to the State Department and the Office of Strategic Services. During the coming year he will act as director of graduate studies in Sociology. Leo W. Simmons has completed his two-volume treatise on the role of the aged in primitive and in modern society. It will be published early in 1945. Selden D. Bacon is devoting part time to the Yale School of Alcohol Studies, where he is directing sociological research in the folkways of drinking and the problems of alcoholism. Wendell King has joined the department as instructor. He has recently completed a study of social cleavage in a small New England community.

REPRESENTATIVE BOOKS IN SOCIOLOGY SINCE 1938

The American Library Association early in 1944 asked for a list of books in Sociology

recognized as fitting and proper representation of the research and scholarly production in this field in this country since the beginning of 1939, books suitable for distribution to libraries and institutions of research in countries in war areas as soon as possible after postwar conditions permit, or if that proved impossible, to be recommended for the information of foreign libraries or individuals.

The following list of books represent the selection of titles made by eighteen members of the Executive Committee from lists supplied by departments of sociology circularized by President Vance. Only two books received 18 votes for inclusion: Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, and Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology*.

LIST A

(Includes those books which received 12 votes or more)

1. Albig, William, *Public Opinion*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939. \$4.00
2. Allport, G. W., *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science*. Social Science Research Council, 1942. \$1.50
3. Anderson, Nels, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah*. University of Chicago Press, 1942. \$4.00
4. Anderson, Nels, *Men on the Move*. University of Chicago Press, 1940. \$3.00
5. Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Society in Transition*. Prentice-Hall, 1939. \$3.75
6. Barnes, Harry Elmer, Becker, Howard, and Becker, Frances Bennett (eds.), *Contemporary Social Theory*. D. Appleton-Century, 1940. \$5.00
7. Benedict, Ruth, *Race: Science and Politics*. Modern Age, 1940. \$2.50
8. Bernard, Jessie S., *American Family Behavior*. Harper & Brothers, 1942. \$3.50
9. Bernard, L. L. and Bernard, Jessie S., *Origins of Sociology: The Social Science Movement in the United States*. Thomas Y. Crowell, 1943.
10. Burgess, Ernest W. and Cottrell, Leonard S., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*. Prentice-Hall, 1939. \$2.50
11. Cantril, Hadley, *The Psychology of Social Movements*. John Wiley, 1941. \$3.50
12. Davis, Allison, Gardner, Burleigh B., and Gardner, Mary R., *Deep South*. University of Chicago Press, 1941. \$4.50
13. Elliott, Mabel A. and Merrill, Francis E., *Social Disorganization*. Harper & Brothers, 1941. \$3.75
14. Folsom, Joseph Kirk, *The Family and Democratic Society*. John Wiley, 1943. \$4.00
15. Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro Family in the United States*. University of Chicago Press, 1939. \$4.00

16. Frazier, E. Franklin, *Negro Youth at the Cross-ways, Their Personality Development in the Middle States*. Am. Council on Education, 1940. \$2.25

17. Gist, Noel P. and Halbert, L. A., *Urban Society* (2nd ed.). Thomas Y. Crowell, 1941. \$3.50

18. Glueck, Eleanor T., *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up*. Commonwealth Fund, 1940.

19. Glueck, Sheldon and Glueck, Eleanor T., *Criminal Careers in Retrospect*. Commonwealth Fund, 1943.

20. Hughes, Everett C., *French Canada in Transition*. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1943.

21. Johnson, Charles S., *Growing Up in the Black Belt: Negro Youth in the Rural South*. American Council on Education, 1941. \$2.25.

22. Johnson, Charles S., *Patterns of Negro Segregation*. Harper and Brothers, 1943. \$3.50

23. Kardiner, Abram and Linton, Ralph, *The Individual and His Society: The Psycho-Dynamics of Primitive Social Organization*. Columbia U. Press, 1939. \$3.50

24. Kiser, Clyde V., *Group Differences in Urban Fertility*. Williams & Wilkins, 1942. \$2.50

25. Klineberg, Otto (ed.), *Characteristics of the American Negro*. Harper & Bros., 1944.

26. Kolb, J. H. and Brunner, Edmund deS., *A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes* (Rev. ed.). Houghton Mifflin, 1940. \$3.75

27. La Piere, Richard T. and Farnsworth, Paul R., *Social Psychology*. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1942. \$3.50

28. Linton, Ralph, *Acculturation in Seven American Tribes*. D. Appleton-Century, 1940. \$4.00

29. Lorimer, Frank, et al., *Foundations of American Population Policy*. Harper & Brothers, 1940. \$2.50

30. Lundberg, George A., *Foundations of Sociology*. Macmillan, 1939. \$3.50

31. Lundberg, George A., *Social Research*. Longmans, Green Co., 1942. \$3.25

32. Lynd, Robert S., *Knowledge for What?* Princeton University Press, 1939. \$2.50

33. MacIver, Robert M., *Social Causation*. Grimm and Company, 1942. \$3.50

34. Mannheim, Karl, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*. Harcourt, Brace, 1940. \$3.50

35. May, Mark A., *A Social Psychology of War and Peace*. Yale University Press, 1943. \$2.75

36. McWilliams, Carey, *Factories in the Field*. Little, Brown Company, 1939. \$3.50

37. Mowrer, Ernest R., *Disorganization, Personal and Social*. J. B. Lippincott, 1942.

38. Myrdal, Alva, *Nation and Family; the Swedish Experiment in Democratic Family and Population Policy*. Harper & Brothers, 1941. \$4.00

39. Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma* (2 vols.) Harper & Brothers, 1944. \$7.50

40. Myrdal, Gunnar, *Population: A Problem for Democracy*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1940.

41. Ogburn, William F. (ed.), *American Society in Wartime*. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1941.

42. Ogburn, William F. and Nimkoff, Meyer F., *Sociology*. Houghton, Mifflin, 1940. \$3.50

43. Pierson, Donald, *Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contact at Bahia*. University of Chicago Press, 1942.

44. Powdermaker, Hortense, *After Freedom*. Viking Press, 1939.

45. Sanderson, Dwight L., *Rural Sociology and Social Organization*. John Wiley & Sons, 1942. \$4.00

46. Sellin, Thorsten, *The Criminality of Youth*. American Law Institute, 1940. \$1.50

47. Shaw, Clifford R. and McKay, Henry D., *Juvenile Delinquency in Urban Areas*. University of Chicago Press, 1942.

48. Smith, T. Lynn, *Sociology of Rural Life*. Harper & Brothers, 1940. \$3.00

49. Sutherland, E. H., *Principles of Criminology*. J. B. Lippincott, 1939.

50. Sutherland, R. L. and Woodward, Julian L., *Introductory Sociology*. J. B. Lippincott, 1940. \$3.50

51. Thomas, Dorothy S., *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements*, 1750-1933. Macmillan, 1941.

52. Thompson, Warren S., *Population Problems*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942. \$4.00

53. Waller, Willard, *War and the Family*. The Dryden Press, 1940. \$0.50

54. Warner, W. Lloyd and Lunt, Paul S., *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. Yankee City Series, Vol. 1. Yale Univ. Press, 1941. \$4.00

55. Woodworth, Robert S., *Heredity and Environment, A Critical Survey of Recently Published Material on Twins and Foster Children*. Soc. Sci. Res. Council, 1941. \$0.90

56. Wright, Quincy, *A Study of War* (2 vols.). University of Chicago Press, 1942. \$15.00

57. Young, Kimball, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*. F. S. Crofts, 1940. \$4.25

LIST B

(Includes those books which received 9-11 votes)

- Alexander, Franz, *Our Age of Unreason: A Study of Irrational Forces in Social Life*. J. B. Lippincott, 1942. \$4.00
- Alpert, Harry, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology*. Columbia University Press, 1939. \$2.50
- Angell, Robert C., *The Integration of American Society: A Study of Groups and Institutions*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941. \$2.50
- Arensberg, Conrad M. and Kimball, Solon T., *Family and Community in Ireland*. Harvard University Press, 1940. \$3.50
- Baker, O. E., Borsodi, Ralph, and Wilson, M. L., *Agriculture in Modern Life*. Harper & Brothers, 1939.
- Bakke, E. Wight, *The Unemployed Worker: A Study of the Task of Making a Living Without a Job*. Yale University Press, 1940. \$4.00
- Barnes, Harry Elmer, *New Horizons in Criminology: The American Crime Problem*. Prentice-Hall Company, 1943.

1940. \$3.50
- Brazil: A Study of* University of Chicago
- Freedom.* Viking
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- inality of Youth.* 10. \$1.50
- Henry D., Juve-* reas. University of
- Rural Life.* Harper
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- ward, Julian L.* Lippincott, 1940.
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- Family.* The Dry
- Paul S., *The Social* nity. Yankee City ress, 1941. \$4.00
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- of War (2 vols.)* 3, 1942. \$15.00
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- guration of American* ps and Institutions. ny, 1941. \$2.50
- Kimball, Solon T.* Ireland. Harvard
- , and Wilson, M. L.* Harper & Brothers.
- employed Worker: A* g a Living Without ss, 1940. \$4.00
- Horizons in Crimi-* e Problem. Prentice
8. Becker, Howard and Hill, Reuben, Ed., *Marriage and the Family.* D. C. Heath, 1942. \$4.00
9. Britt, Steuart Henderson, *Social Psychology of Modern Life.* Farrar & Rinehart, 1941. \$3.75
10. Brunner, Edmund deS., *Community Organization and Adult Education.* University of North Carolina Press, 1942.
11. Cayton, Horace R. and Mitchell, George S., *Black Workers and the New Unions.* University of North Carolina Press, 1939. \$4.00
12. Chugerman, Samuel, *Lester F. Ward: The American Aristotle.* Duke University Press, 1939. \$5.00
13. Coon, Carleton Steven, *The Races of Europe.* Macmillan, 1939. \$7.00
14. Davis, Allison and Dollard, John, *Children of Bondage* American Council on Education, 1941. \$2.25
15. Dodd, Stuart C., *Dimensions of Society.* Macmillan, 1942. \$12.00
16. Dollard, John, *Frustration and Aggression.* Yale University Press, 1939. \$2.00
17. DuBois, W. E. Burghardt, *Black Folk, Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race.* Henry Holt & Co., 1939. \$3.50
18. Embree, John F., *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village.* Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939. \$3.00
19. Groves, Ernest R., *The Family and Its Social Functions.* J. B. Lippincott, 1940.
20. Hagood, Margaret Jarman, *Mothers of the South.* Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1939. \$2.00
21. Hagood, Margaret Jarman, *Statistics for Sociologists.* Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941. \$4.00
22. Herskovits, Melville J., *The Myth of the Negro Past.* Harper & Brothers, 1941. \$4.00.
23. Horst, Paul (ed.), *The Prediction of Social Adjustment.* Soc. Sci. Res. Council, 1942.
24. Hoyt, Homer, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities.* Federal Housing Administration, 1939. \$1.50
25. Jandy, Edward C., *Charles Horton Cooley: His Life and His Social Theory.* The Dryden Press, 1942. \$3.00
26. Landis, Paul H., *Social Control: Social Organization and Disorganization in Process.* J. B. Lippincott, 1939. \$3.50
27. Lasswell, Harold D., *Democracy Through Public Opinion.* George Banta Publ. Co., 1941. \$1.50
28. Lazarsfeld, Paul F. and Stanton, Frank, *Radio Research 1941.* Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1941.
29. MacIver, Robert M., *Leviathan and the People.* Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1939. \$2.00
30. McCormick, Thomas C., *Elementary Social Statistics.* McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941. \$3.00
31. Morgan, Arthur E., *The Small Community.* Harper & Brothers, 1942. \$3.00
32. Mumford, Lewis, *The Condition of Man.* New York, 1944.
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The Movement of Factory Workers. By CHARLES A. MYERS and W. RUPERT MACLAURIN. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1943. Pp. iii—III. \$1.50.

Studies of industrial unemployment in American cities have been numerous since the economic collapse in 1929. Myers and Maclaurin focus their analysis upon the internal movement of workers within one community from employer to employer. In other words, they attempt to study the inter-company and inter-industry movements of workers as the ecologists study spacial relationships and interaction patterns in communities. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the writers describe "neighborhood clusters of movement."

A "typical" New England industrial community was chosen as the locale of study. The community contained 120 industries, approxi-

mately one-third of which was included in the sample. Three-fourths of the employees of all industries came into the sample.

The authors found, in general, little conscious planning on the part of employers to meet conditions making for unemployment. Considering the community as a labor market, they found haphazard and wasteful methods of utilizing the available labor.

The study is well organized. The authors do not deviate from their purpose and the monograph is very readable. The faith which the authors place on such an agency as the U. S. Employment Service as providing the remedy to haphazard and wasteful labor utilization will undoubtedly not be shared by all students of the phenomenon of industrial unemployment.

GEORGE W. HILL

War Food Administration

History of Bigotry in the United States. By GUSTAVUS MYERS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. viii + 504. \$4.00.

This book is a careful historical account of the intense persecutions and conflicts between autocratic, fanatical or frightened partisan groups in the United States, trying to maintain their power or push their ideas in positions of social control. Because of the light it throws on the causes of war, superstitious errors, motives of disorder and methods of power politics, it is an especially important book for the present time. In its outspoken and accurate chronicle of domineering organizations and movements, it includes the records of the early colonial crusades against the Puritans and Quakers, with some reference to their European political and ecclesiastical backgrounds; the witch-hunting of New England; the organized, misguided and persistent attacks on the Masons, the Catholics, the Jews and the Negroes, through such secret or mysterious societies as the Know Nothings, the A.P.A., the Ku Klux Klan, the Anti-Semitic League, the German-American Bund, the Christian Front, Knights of the White Camellia, Silver Shirts, Black Shirts, Brown Shirts (and other colored shirts); sometimes enlisting millions of followers; with mysterious, disguising paraphernalia, glittering decorations, savage, pompous titles, and millions of dollars of income going in unaccounted streams to manipulating and "worshipful" leaders; all proclaiming their virtue, their patriotism and their supremacy. Leaders in all these organizations often showed ridiculous ignorance of the ideas, aims and principles of the groups they were attacking; and consequently spread outrageous lies and smearing gossip among the suffering or helpless populations; exactly the tactics of war propaganda.

Of course, one necessary weakness of such a book is its prevailing historic attention to the negative and divisive aspects of human life, as a series of events. It does not always mention the particular worthy aims of the various groups. But the book has strength in its continual reference to the positive principles of value, the wholesome ends of life, the honest Christian virtues of mutual understanding, brotherhood and team play that have been, and are, for the common good of all persons. This is repeatedly and correctly expressed throughout the book as the advancing ideal of democracy—"a more perfect union"; projected for better achievement in the United States Constitution. At the present time, certainly, this needs the emphasis which

such an account of disastrous social divisions can vividly portray. In a day when more than ever we need to remember that the larger social union comes with genuine acquaintance between people, we need to see more clearly the shocking mistakes of disunion through lack of true acquaintance. When today's trends proclaim truly: your business and my business are becoming widely organized as *our business*, we need clearly to see that the attitude of intelligent wider cooperation is becoming essential for civilization. If the horrible disasters of bigotry (whether religious, economic, or political) are to be avoided, the book plainly indicates we must learn that the things we need to use and do together we shall have to own and control in some real and effective sense *together*. We must have a clearer acknowledgement that "there are three sides to every important question: your side, my side, and the right side." This is at least the sound educational attitude, of good will in honest pursuit of the truth, that leads to real prosperity and peace. And, as to the economic aspect of avoiding the bigoted methods, the book is in line with the growing perception that *a widely and generously diffused purchasing power among all classes is becoming essential for any real and sustained prosperity*. (So say the economists such as Robert Nathan in *Mobilizing for Abundance*.) We in America, at least after reading the lessons of loss from our bigotries, can no longer believe in the kind of "free enterprise" involved in the *false prosperity of the elephant dancing among the chickens*.

CHARLES J. BUSHNELL
University of Toledo

Children Need Adults. By RUTH DAVIS PERRY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. Pp. ix + 136. \$1.50.

The purpose of this book is to show parents and teachers of preschool children "how to steer a constructive course between two detrimental extremes: the tyranny of the adult and the tyranny of the child." There is emphasis upon the deep need of every child for fructifying relationships with adults who are warm, poised, outgoing, rich in sensitivities, and understanding; really mature themselves. "The degree of maturity of the adults with whom the child lives influences greatly the degree of maturity which the child will acquire for himself" (page 11).

The style is simple and readable, richly illustrated from Miss Perry's first hand experience with children, as director of the nursery school and kindergarten of the Riverside Church of

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New York. She shows how the beginnings of self-discipline, routines, science, art, and religion may be satisfactorily started in the life of the child through interaction with wholesome adults, both at home and at nursery school. She rates home influence as of greatest importance in the child's character formation, but indicates that a good nursery school is an excellent supplement for enriching child experience in all these areas.

The book is particularly valuable in discussing the beginnings of science, art, and religion. It suggests that the child best learns to appreciate the beauty and wonder of the universe from adults who are sensitized to it, and that every aspect of the child's day has within it rudiments of religious experience. Sensitized adults can help him get the meaning of his wonder at a rose, his need for fellowship and sharing, the limitations of his own powers, and his awareness of something greater than himself. A wise emphasis is put upon the value of the *group* experience in family prayers, ceremonies, and Bible reading even before the child understands all that is said, and the similar worth of the whole family going to church together as the one institution where people of *every* age may belong equally.

Excellent points are brought out in the chapters on beginnings of discipline and routine; such as the need for preventative guidance rather than punishment, for providing constructive opportunities for satisfying the need for attention and for the child's taking over as rapidly as possible responsibility for his own routines. One wishes at times for more attention to the underlying dynamics of child behavior which again and again in the life of every child throw out of gear well-established habits and attitudes. Despite the lack in this area, the book will prove of genuine worth to many parents and teachers of preschool children.

KATHARINE WHITESIDE TAYLOR

Seattle Public Schools, Seattle, Wash.

American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy. By MADELEINE HOOKE RICE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. vii + 177. \$2.50.

This book is a valuable contribution on an important controversial issue. It is always difficult to express the Catholic opinion on the application of morality to a concrete situation. A few years back we witnessed a prominent Catholic layman erroneously represent himself as expressing the Catholic attitude in the well-known Scopes trial in Tennessee. Later on many tried

to commit the great Catholic body on the Child Labor Amendment. Certainly there is agreement among Catholics on all important moral and dogmatic principles but there is necessarily a wide divergence of opinion when application of these principles must be made to a specific social problem. Madeleine Rice catches this important point very well when she writes, "While representative opinion, both North and South, admitted that human bondage was by no means an ideal system, sectional interests encouraged—and Catholic doctrine permitted—differences in its judgment as to the gravity of the evil and the wisdom or practicability of proposals for remedying or removing it."

It would seem that Catholic opinion about the elimination of slavery was largely influenced by sectional interest. There seems to have been a general Catholic antagonism to the Abolitionists not because of Catholic love for slavery but because this group threatened a spread of intolerance and a disregard for lawfully constituted civil authority. Mrs. Rice hints a criticism at general Catholic conservatism. But Catholicism is suspicious of violent and precipitous change for religion and morality rarely flourish in chaotic conditions such as war and social revolution.

The author has her subject, both historically and religiously, well mastered. She is unusually fair due either to excellent scholarship or perhaps to a sympathetic attitude she brings to her topic. This book might well serve as a model for those writing about the Catholic attitude on any social question. *American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy* should be valuable to students of social problems or of history. It is a fair, scholarly, helpful contribution on an important controversial problem.

REV. FRANCIS P. CAVANAUGH

Notre Dame

Survey of Radio Listeners in Louisiana. By EDGAR A. SCHULER. Baton Rouge: General Extension Division, Louisiana State University, 1943. Pp. 77. No price indicated.

The purpose of this survey is to "throw as much light as possible on the characteristics of Louisiana radio listeners, with the expectation of presenting the findings to Louisiana educators interested in the educational use of radio." It should prove a valuable backlog of basic information, following somewhat the pattern of surveys made annually in Iowa and Kansas under commercial sponsorship. Topics investigated by personal interviews with 961 individuals, ran-

domized according to certain known characteristics of the Louisiana population, include: ownership and condition of sets, daily listening patterns, program types and stations preferred, types of additional programs desired, means of learning about new programs, short wave listening.

The analysis of group differences is unusually thorough, with full presentation in both text and charts. Although the sample is admittedly rather small for such breakdowns, some of the variations by race, sex, education, and size of community, are highly relevant to the understanding of radio's potentialities in education.

Louisiana ranks about in the middle of the lowest quarter of the states in radio ownership, with 53.3 per cent of homes having sets in 1940, compared with the national total of 82.8 per cent. There, as elsewhere, the problem of the cultural use of radio is shaped by lack of facilities for listening, among the groups whom educators would most like to reach. But planning should proceed on realistic grounds, and this study is a right step in surveying the grounds for action by educators in Louisiana.

ALBERTA CURTIS

New York City

The Negro's Share: A Study of Income, Consumption, Housing, and Public Assistance. By RICHARD STERNER, in collaboration with LENORE A. EPSTEIN, ELLEN WINSTON, and others. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. Pp. xii + 433. \$4.50.

Here is objective evidence of the foresight of the Carnegie Corporation: for in 1938, five years prior to the Detroit riots, it announced that Dr. Karl Gunnar Myrdal of the University of Stockholm had been retained to make a much needed "general study of the Negro in the United States." The author of this book came from Sweden with Dr. Myrdal as one of some twenty students of the American Negro who were to prepare memoranda on all of the more important aspects of Negro life in this country. This monograph is one of several deemed worthy of publication as a separate book.

The Negro's Share is an unusually complete study of the living standards of one segment of our population, and indirectly, through the very numerous comparisons which are drawn, of the balance of the population as well. The book's chief value probably lies in the variety and completeness of the data (mostly, but not entirely, statistical) which have been drawn together

into one volume, rather than in any particular originality in their interpretation. Insofar as the author arrives at conclusions, he does so after careful and detached consideration of a problem in all its manifold complexity.

The book is in two parts, the first of which gives a specific picture in considerable detail of Negro life in this country, and evaluates the adequacy of Negro standards of living in areas where norms exist, or compares the Negro manner of living with the white when such norms do not exist. Great care is taken to hold constant basic economic and social factors such as geographical area, type of community, and size and type of family whenever family expenditures or consumption habits are compared.

The second part of the book deals with the major social welfare programs administered by the states and by the federal government and the extent to which the Negro benefits from them. The data appear to show that most of these programs benefit the white population more in comparison to its need than they do the Negro, although the Negro often benefits more than his proportion in the population would warrant if there were not so great a difference in need of Negroes and whites. It appears that some of the federal programs are so drawn as not to affect certain occupational groups to which the Negro belongs in disproportionately large numbers, but that the actual administration of the federal programs by federal personnel is without taint of racial discrimination. On the other hand, it is obvious from data presented here that certain southern states do discriminate racially in the administration of the welfare programs under their control. A study of the effect of stipulating state residence for administrative personnel upon racial discrimination would be a logical final chapter for this book.

HELEN G. and CLARK TIBBITS

University of Michigan

Canadian Penal Institutions (Revised Edition).

By C. W. TOPPING. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1943. Pp. vii + 146. \$3.00.

Penologists who wish to keep informed on the development of Canadian penal institutions will find this revised edition of Professor Topping's earlier book useful, although it apparently is not based upon a complete first-hand recent survey. The book describes only a few features suggestive for programs in the United States, and the impression it leaves is generally

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one of continued backwardness and recent marking of time. The elaborate forward-looking report of a Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada, appointed in 1936, seems to have had but little effect.

The program of the Dominion seems to be somewhat in advance of that of the several Provinces. Here and there, especially where progressive private organizations have had influence, particular institutions or aspects of programs stand out as somewhat exceptional. The personnel of the Penitentiary Branch of the Dominion's Department of Justice are said to be definitely "out of politics." Perhaps the feature most worthy of study in the United States is the extra-mural employment of prisoners in Ontario. The Ontario Reformatory at Guelph, considered Canada's best penal institution, is notable. Canada's institutions for juveniles are said to be about on a par with those in the States, and a "radical departure" in the form of foster home placement has been made in Ontario. Yet no significant changes in penal policies have followed the Royal Commission's Report. Canada has had her share of prison riots, and the war has not helped the situation. Individuals and organizations are waking up in Canada, but they have not yet greatly changed the traditional system.

Toward the end of the book there is interesting reference to the need for the aid of the sociologist in the penal field, followed by expression of little faith in social work training for prison personnel. If, perchance, these suggestions should be acted upon, Canada might yet teach the United States a significant lesson in practical penology.

DONALD R. TAFT

University of Illinois

The Prevention of Repeated Crime. By JOHN BARKER WAITE. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1943. Pp. xi + 221. No price indicated.

This study deals with one specific problem, that indicated by its title. Mr. Waite raises the question of what should be done to prevent further crime on the part of those who are already known criminals.

The seriousness of the problem is not diminished by its obviousness to the professional student nor by the failure of the layman to recognize it. The fact is that very conservatively speaking more than 50 percent of prisoners in the federal and state penal institutions had al-

ready served sentences in state prisons or penitentiaries for prior crimes. Indeed, one who has already served a sentence is "seven more times likely to commit repeated crime than one who has not committed crime at all."

Mr. Waite disclaims any attempt to gather new data. He sets himself the task of bringing together existing information in order to show what changes in theory, practice, and legislation are necessary for better social protection against the "repeater."

The study is divided into two parts. Part II, more than half the book, contains fifteen appendices dealing with statutes such as those regulating release before and after commitment, separation and classification of prisoners, requirements of manufacture and sale of prison-made goods, educational rehabilitation, assistance to persons released on parole and with related material such as assistance actually rendered (based on inquiries addressed to the heads of state parole organizations).

Part I discusses the purposes of treatment, the failure of punitive treatment, changing theories of proper treatment, legislative authorization of non-punitive treatments and the actual utilization of non-punitive methods. A six page statement of the author's conclusions makes up the sixth and final chapter of Part I.

Although some of the new ideas of preventive treatment for convicted criminals could be undertaken under existing legislation Mr. Waite believes that without some affirmative authorization the development of non-punitive methods of treatment cannot take place. Such legislative changes would provide (a) for release after imprisonment, as the statutes now do, but in light of preventing the creation of criminal tendencies through prison experience; (b) for the separation of different types of prisoners, not merely a differentiation based on age; (c) for segregation during the whole period of dangerousness, not merely long terms under the habitual offender statutes; (d) for genuine rehabilitation through training in trades and education; (e) for guidance and actual assistance, including financial, after release from confinement.

It is difficult to generalize about the extent to which preventive methods are actually made use of. But, at best, the gap between legislative statutory permissiveness and actual practice throughout the country is extremely wide.

Mr. Waite concludes (a) the punitive purpose . . . "is in fact the essential sum and substance of the law today," (b) the punish-

ment is ineffective as a preventive of repeated crime by former offenders who have been subjected to it, (c) that any real change can be brought about only through new legislation.

The new legislation must limit the possibility of character degradation, it must keep dangerous persons under suppression or even in segregation; it must reform the criminal, and finally, continue to protect and assist him in law-abiding conduct.

Mr. Waite has presented a concise and clear picture of the failure to prevent further crime on the part of those discharged for prior criminal offenses. I raise several questions. Is new legislation alone sufficient? To what extent can adult emotional patterns be changed? Where are we to get the personnel to accomplish the purposes of the new legislation? Helping people to help themselves (which is the only way people can really be helped) is an extremely delicate and highly skilled undertaking especially when deviating individuals are being helped. Very few people are professionally qualified to help others. I doubt whether new legislation in support of ideas of "rehabilitation" can do much more than eliminate the worst features of the current punitive practices.

NATHANIEL CANTOR

University of Buffalo

University of Minnesota Studies in Predicting Scholastic Achievement. By EDMUND C. WILIAMSON, EDWARD M. FREEMAN, HARL R. DOUGLASS, and others. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1942. Part I, pp. vi + 66, \$1.00; Part II, pp. vi + 76, \$1.00.

These two monographs summarize the joint efforts of certain University of Minnesota administrators, counselors, and specialists in educational research, who developed prognostic procedures indicative of potential academic achievement in the University's several colleges and schools. Their research is based on the hypothesis (1) that previous school marks, aptitude ratings, and achievement test scores are indicative of subsequent academic success in college, and (2) that the optimum combination of two or more of these indices is different for each one of the several major collegiate curricula. The studies were undertaken for the practical purpose of devising ways and means of making the admission, placement, and subsequent guidance of students more effective.

The Minnesota studies in prediction consist of a series of independent investigations carried

on simultaneously in seven major administrative divisions of the University during the period 1933-42. Their general patterns are identical, however. In each the prognostic value of a number of different ratings and test scores is first obtained. Then the *best* practical composite index is determined—i.e., that combination having a minimum number of variables, but approaching the maximum predictive efficiency.

Part I deals with prediction in the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts and in the College of Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics. Part II deals with prediction in the Medical School, the School of Nursing, the School of Business Administration, the Law School, and the School of Dentistry. The findings of the entire series of investigations may be summarized as follows:

(1) Previous academic marks are by far the best single predictive index of subsequent academic success. That is, academic status in high school is most indicative of subsequent collegiate success in the liberal arts, in agriculture, in forestry, and in home economics. Preprofessional collegiate status is most indicative of subsequent academic achievement in the professional schools.

(2) With the exception of the findings in the Medical School and the Law School, aptitude test scores are also reasonably good predictive indices. In the liberal arts, in agriculture, in forestry, and in home economics the general scholastic aptitude (intelligence) test score has possibilities. In the professional schools a more specific subject matter aptitude test is needed.

(3) Achievement test scores are, in general, less indicative of subsequent college success than either aptitude test scores or previous school marks.

(4) In general, a composite index consisting of previous academic status and aptitude test score is significantly more efficient than either component used independently. Adding a third variable usually does not materially increase the predictive efficiency.

(5) For maximum efficiency it is necessary to assign different weights to the component parts of the composite index in each one of the several administrative units.

The Minnesota studies in prediction show evidence of careful thought and planning, as well as of scientific execution. The result is a series of predictive indices which approach the ultimate possible predictive efficiency when ratings of past academic performance and group test scores are used to predict a criterion as unreliable as college marks.

It is gratifying to note that the authors are keenly aware of the major limitations of these studies: (1) the effect of individual tempera-

administrative and the period are identical, value of a number of scores is first composite in combination having variables, but appears efficiency. The College of s and in the and Home Education in the Nursing, the ion, the Law try. The investigations may are by far the subsequent academic high school is indicate success in forestry, and in legitimate status is academic achievement findings in the col, aptitude test predictive indices. in forestry, and olastic aptitude abilities. In the subject matter in general, less cess than either school marks. ex consisting of grade test score is other component variable usually predictive efficiency. is necessary to component parts of the several prediction show d planning, as The result is a h approach the ency when rance and group a criterion as the authors are ations of these ridual tempera-

ment, motivation, health, and working conditions, viz., "A prediction equation is mathematical, but college success is actually the product of intensely human and personal factors" (Part I, p. iii); and (2) the effect of variability among student populations and instructional procedures, viz., ". . . conclusions from this study are not likely to apply without modification to other institutions. . . . It is also true that a combination of entrance measures does not necessarily remain the best possible combination over a period of years, for the value of the combination does not remain constant. Changes in the nature of instruction within the school, changes in the standards and curricula of high schools, changes in the type of students attracted . . . all have their effect on the accuracy of the predictive combination" (Part II, p. 31).

These studies present no new and radically different findings from those obtained at Wisconsin, Yale, and elsewhere. They are significant, however, because of their thoroughness and completeness, and because they are illustrative of one kind of co-ordinate institutional research. As such the contents of the two summarizing monographs should be familiar to college administrators and counselors. Graduate research students may find them useful for reference.

GUSTAV J. FROELICH

The University of Chicago

Earnings and Social Security in the United States. By W. S. WOYTINSKY. Washington: Committee on Social Security, Social Science Research Council, 1943. Pp. vi + 260. No price indicated.

New Goals for Old Age. Edited by GEORGE LAWTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. ix + 210. \$2.75.

Social security is rapidly becoming a social institution that affects the lives of millions of Americans. These two books illustrate the scope and breadth of the institution for they have only one thing in common; different aspects of social security. Mr. Woytinsky's study is a competent statistical analysis of individual earnings as related to social insurance. Well documented and with careful reference to the methods used, it is obviously written for the specialist. The volume edited by Dr. Lawton is non-quantitative and, although factual in content, is philosophical in orientation. It is of especial significance to social workers and other professional persons who deal with the aged.

Mr. Woytinsky's report on *Earnings and Social Security in the United States*, prepared for the Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council, is definitely a book for specialists in the economics of social security. As such it is a mature and able piece of research, to be compared with Professor Seymour Harris's *Economics of Social Security*.

The social insurance provisions of the Social Security Act provide protection against the hazards of certain wage losses. Old-age and survivors' insurance and unemployment compensation are based upon the concept of individual wages: taxes are levied as a percentage of individual earnings and credited to individualized workers, and benefits are paid as a percentage of average wages. Therefore, in estimating the amount of social security taxes, it is necessary to understand the structure of wages within specified groups of workers and to measure the inequality of individual earnings. This seemingly simple problem becomes extremely complicated because national income statistics consider the family, not the individual wage earner, as the unit of measurement.

Mr. Woytinsky has made a skillful effort to translate available statistical data into measurable units for this purpose. Students of social insurance will be interested in his discussions of these subjects: coverage of social security laws in terms of the national income; employees in the national income pyramid; taxable wages; and wages by industry and occupation. Sociologists will be particularly interested in the chapters on wages by sex of workers and wages by race of workers. The author is at his best, however, in the area of economic prognostication. The nonstatistical reader will not be intrigued with the notes on the measurement of inequality, which "means simply that some individuals earn more than others," but he may be interested in Mr. Woytinsky's predictions. The chapter on long-range trend in per capita incomes and wages is recommended for this purpose.

Although written with a minimum of technical language, the collection of essays edited by George Lawton, entitled *New Goals for Old Age*, possesses content of primary concern to psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers. Social scientists who are interested in the characteristics of aged persons will find this book to be a valuable reference work. All who read the book will be impressed with the wise, philosophical insight of the authors regarding the problems of the aged.

Books of collected essays are often the result of the work of a publicity-minded person who has secured the literary services of a corps of "experts." *New Goals for Old Age* is not such a work. The papers were originally delivered in a course, "Mental Health and Old Age," conducted in New York during 1940-41. Persons directly connected with the care of the aged made up the audience. Hence, the various chapters possess unusual continuity for a work of this sort. It should also be noted that the book is well edited. The refreshing and charming prologue is the antithesis of the usual "scholarly" introduction.

Dr. Lawton has also shown good taste by reserving for the final chapter an anonymous essay on "How it Feels to be Seventy-five and a Woman." "A humorous and alertly interested mind," declares the old lady, "keeps its youth and strength and is stimulating to itself and to others." This chapter should be required reading for the alarmists who have pictured the evils of a gerontocracy.

These able books indicate the significance of social security as a field for research. Social scientists who are searching for the theoretical bases for practice in the various fields of social security will welcome their publication. Administrators and practitioners may have to take Woytinsky in homeopathic doses, but they will find the careful reading of both books to be intellectually stimulating.

ARTHUR P. MILES
Social Security Board, Denver, Colorado

How New Will the Better World Be? A Discussion of Post-War Reconstruction. By CARL L. BECKER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. Pp. vii + 246 + v. \$2.50.

Like the title, the eight chapters are also questions. 1. What is wrong with the world we have? War and mass unemployment. 2. Can we return to normalcy? No. 3. Can we abate nationalism and curb the sovereign state? No, but we may improve the use of power. 4. Can we abolish power politics and end imperialism? No. 5. What are we fighting for? To retain what we have and to gain the chance to solve the problems we were facing before the war. "The new and better world . . . must be firmly grounded on the old." 6. What kind of collectivism do we want? We must have, and in varying degrees, always have had some kind of collectivism. We want Social Democracy, Socialism, Communism, and Fascism—in that order. "The choice which we actually have is, I think, the choice between

being intelligent enough to devise some method of making the capitalist system of private enterprise work and thereby preserving our democratic liberties, or of muddling along, playing politics, and ending up with some American brand of Fascism and the loss of our democratic liberties" (P. 161). "The fundamental question is whether in the capitalist system the private-profit motive can ever be sufficiently reconciled with the desire for the general welfare. Perhaps not." (I'd say, "certainly not"). 7. What kind of international political order can we have? Any kind the Big Four want, but this is not enough: economic confusion and conflict must be eliminated within countries and between nations. 8. What kind of international economic order can we have? A continuation of the one we always have had. "The end to be achieved, so far as it can be, is to bring about full employment of man power, full employment of technical and industrial productive power, full development of the natural resources of every country, and a proper distribution of the potential wealth of the world among men and nations" (Pp. 243-244).

"Making a new and better world is something that is, or should be, always going on. . . . But let no one suppose that the war will have made the task any easier, or have revealed to us any magic formula for setting the world straight all at once" (Pp. 244-245).

My condensation of Becker's "answers" makes them sound much more dogmatic than they actually are. The book has a scope and cogency and compelling interest to which no brief review can do justice. In spite of this, the starry-eyed reader will probably call Becker a pessimist and reactionary. To me, he is optimistic and realistic because his book is a good prophylaxis against disillusionment. Those who are sure the expenditure of a trillion dollars and forty or fifty million lives must *ipso facto* bring the millennium before breakfast, are likely to be disappointed.

I would argue a few points if space permitted, but they are quite unimportant compared to my general agreement with Becker's thesis: don't look for miracles—but we *may* make some permanent social gains as a result of the war if we have sense enough. Things will be different from what they would have been if the war had not occurred, but whether they will be, or become, better, and how much and how soon, and did winning the war "cause" the results, etc. are questions no one ever will be able to answer very convincingly.

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Most "war" books I read make me wish I had played golf instead. This one does not: the matter is sound and the manner is excellent. Becker is a good scholar and also a man of wisdom—*rara avis*. He also can *write*—*avis rarissima*.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Population Trends in Allegheny County (1940-1943). By BERTRAM J. BLACK and AUBREY MALLOCH. Pittsburgh: Bureau of Social Research, Federation of Social Agencies, 1944. 48 pp. 50¢.

This basic information workbook is the first of a series describing changing ecological conditions in Allegheny County and the Pittsburgh area produced by this Bureau of Social Research. It provides information on population of the past century as well as more detailed data on changes in the decade, 1930-1940. Population estimates made since 1940 are also discussed. A series of valuable maps and charts are included in this book. All the data concerning the periods studied are graphically presented by tables, charts and maps. The census tracts are used as the basis for the analysis. Data on nationality, racial composition, age, sex and family size are broken down and analyzed according to the periods studied.

Some significant findings of the study are: Pittsburgh's main growth has been due to annexation of adjacent areas. Population within the borders of Pittsburgh showed no change at all in 1940, while the county showed a marked increase; foreign born population decreased, while negro population increased some in Pittsburgh. There was a significant decrease in the number of children. The greatest change in age groups took place in the over-65 area. This group increased by almost one half its number in 1930. The median size of families fell, with a greater decrease in the county outside of Pittsburgh.

The findings of this research study aren't so significant in themselves to the general public, but they should be of real value to the leaders of the areas studied, as well as to social planners in general. The study is important as an illustration of what should be done in individual population centers. The reviewer feels that the Bureau is launching out on an interesting endeavor which will be a real contribution to social research.

T. EARL SULLINGER

Municipal University of Omaha

Old Age in New York City. By HELEN HARDY BRUNOT. New York: Welfare Council of New York City, 1943. Pp. 126. No price indicated.

This study is an analysis of some problems of the aged, based on 3,106 requests of the Bureau of the Aged of the Welfare Council of New York City for information about health and welfare services available in that area. These requests were made between May 1939 and November 1941 by old people, relatives and friends of old people, business organizations, and by professional persons, including social workers.

Source materials consisted mainly of 1,935 of the 3,106 records of the Bureau. The other records could not be used, because they contained little or no information about the problems or circumstances of the old person who was in need of assistance. A description is not given of the extent and quality of the data obtained. Due to the nature of the service rendered and due to the fact that approximately 84 percent of the requests came from persons other than the aged themselves it may be inferred, however, that the case histories are, for the most part, sketchy and not of high accuracy.

The three principal sections of the work are devoted to problems of physical and mental health, of support in old age, and of social relationships and environment. Several important problems usually discussed under these headings were either omitted or given only slender consideration. Systematic and full treatment of the topics was apparently not possible with the available materials. The best parts of the study are those dealing with problems in the administration of old age assistance and with housing needs.

The method of treatment is almost entirely qualitative in character. Problems are described, commented upon with frequent reference to the facilities available for their relief, sometimes classified, and often illustrated with case-history materials. Statistics are limited mainly to group descriptions of age, sex, marital status, religious affiliation, living arrangement, and sources of support. The point-of-view tends consistently to be that of a case worker with emphasis upon understanding and taking into consideration the attitudes of the old person, upon individual analysis and treatment, upon self-help to the fullest possible extent, and upon adjustment within the framework of existing institutions.

As an exploratory study, this monograph has some merit. It focuses attention upon acute

problems that are apt to be overlooked and does so in a clear style. Many suggestive comments are made that indicate insight into the nature of the problems of this age group and that are worthy of systematic study. Readers will come away from this book with the impression that we know little about the aged and that community facilities are grossly inadequate to care for their needs.

ROBERT M. DINKEL

Washington, D.C.

Approaches to World Peace. Edited by LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, and ROBERT M. MACIVER. New York: Harper and Bros., 1944. Pp. xviii + 973. \$5.00.

This rather lengthy book represents a collection of the papers and discussions presented at the fourth meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life held at Columbia University on September 9-13, 1943. Over sixty persons took part either through presenting papers or by participating in the discussion. The material has been skillfully edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein and Robert MacIver.

A vast field is covered and a great variety of topics are dealt with. There is some variety of viewpoint, though for the most part those selected to participate are ardent interventionists and professional internationalists. This current of interventionism runs throughout the book. Since, however, there is little discussion of actual political and economic developments, this is not as serious a defect as it would be in a work on contemporary history. The quality of the papers differs widely, a diversity which may be well illustrated by the fantastic notions of Dr. Richard M. Brickner about paranoid nations, as over against the calm sanity of Adolf Meyer's utilization of psychiatric realities in groping for a basis for peace and good-will.

A mere listing of the table of contents would take more space than is available for this review. We can only indicate the general scope of the material covered. The first part deals with the contribution to the social sciences to the problems of peace and international government. Next, the bearing of anthropological research upon the problems of peace is surveyed. Economic research and world peace is then considered, though far too little attention is paid to the economic problems underlying war and peace. The legal foundations of peace are investigated next in turn. The psychological and psychiatric problems of peace and war are

then taken into consideration. A long section follows on education for enduring peace. Much attention is then given to arts and letters in their effect upon peace. This is followed by comprehensive sections upon the philosophic and religious foundations of peace. The book is concluded by several papers on the administrative problems involved in world peace and organization.

On the whole, the book is chiefly valuable as a work of reference for those interested in peace problems. It would be difficult for anyone other than a special student of war and peace to plow through the book consecutively, though many of the papers are very interesting and suggestive: for example, those of Harry Lasswell and George N. Shuster. If the book fails to come to grips with most of the concrete issues which face the world today and ignores most of the policies of those currently in control of the destinies of nations, it will nevertheless be of much value for those concerned with the abstract principles involved in the problems of war and peace. Very few topics connected therewith are ignored in this encyclopedic work.

The major weakness of the work is the pretty general assumption throughout of the devil or "big bad wolf" theory of war. There is not the slightest indication of realism as to the causes of the present World War or its extension and continuance. There is no suggestion that democracies as well as dictatorships make and love war. Few of the contributors appear to have learned anything permanent from the last World War and the disillusionment which followed. Many of those who in the book eloquently expound philosophical and religious arguments for peace were among those most notorious for relinquishing such ideas the moment that war propaganda began in 1938 and 1939. Few if any of the writers stress the fact that pacific ideas are valuable mainly when war is on the horizon. Not many of the contributors show any willingness to examine our own responsibility for the world calamity or to suggest the existence of any aggressive spirit on our part. Nowhere is there any recognition that the leaders of the Allies as well as of the Axis are now following principles and practices diametrically opposed to the cause of peace and good-will.

But after these qualifications, one may fairly say that this is one of the most complete and satisfactory collections of generalized materials on war and peace to be published during the second World War. In this sense it is a pleasant contrast to the tedious and incredible dribble

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HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, N.Y.

Germany and Europe: A Spiritual Dissension.

By BENEDETTO CROCE. Translated and with an introduction by Vincent Sheean. New York: Random House, 1944. Pp. 83. \$1.25.

The four essays which make up this slim book are tracts for the times. They belong to that growing volume of polemical literature dealing with the question: is Germany incurable?

The German problem or Nazism, if we wish, is conceived within the scope of historical explanation and resolution. Nazism "does not possess the character of a fantastic fact in physics, or rather in metaphysics, conferred upon it by the concept of race." It was "historically born and will historically die." The dissension between Germany and Europe originated in the barrier to the diffusion of the cultural tradition and mind set of the West by the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D. by Arminius, and the decision of the Romans then and there to abandon their efforts at Romanization of the land beyond the Rhine. It is for this reason that Signor Croce raises an admonishing finger in front of those of "flighty brains" who would repay the Nazi in kind by instigating mass murders, wholesale sterilization, or would dismember Germany territorially to make her more easily held down. "Multiple foolishness thus replies to folly, thinking so to defeat it." The task which lies ahead is not further estrangement of the Germans. Everything that can be intelligently done to induce them to take their place in humanity, as one people among peoples, must be tried.

Signor Croce, a European and a patriotic Italian, does not vent his anger against the Germans for waging war a second time within a generation. War is counted among the calamities of life, sometimes inescapable, but always morally salutary when fought for and not against humanity. Neither does he envisage the permanent abolition of war. A temporary but durable peace is enough. Perpetual peace is perpetual utopia "because it contemplates nothing more or less than the shattering of the main-spring of human life, which is sorrow and peril." What does arouse him against the Germans in this war is that they have not even placed their political and national interests first. Instead, by drawing upon the tradition of a "decadent

romanticism" which conceives war as ideal, they have polluted the wells of moral life and plunged the whole world into a ruinous and senseless war.

Signor Croce's quarrel with the Nazi that they have debased the moral life by converting the duty to fight for one's country into a kind of criminal folly, and corrupting a "noble and humanitarian traditional patriotism into a ferocious bestiality," convinces this reviewer that there is no understanding a European mind of patriotic conviction. Signor Croce's dissension between Germany and Europe appears to reside more in the realm of etiquette than in the realm of the spirit. The Nazi seem to be fighting not only against the enemy but against themselves as well. That sort of behavior appears demoniacal; it violates the accepted conventions of making war.

These essays will have repaid the translator his efforts if they succeed in bringing to the attention of English readers the seeming fact that romanticism, retrograde or otherwise, is not congenial to the ideal of lasting peace.

J. SCHNEIDER

University of Minnesota

Prairie City. By ANGIE DEBO. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. Pp. xiv + 245 + viii. \$3.00.

The history of Prairie City, and of white settlement in Oklahoma, began at high twelve, April 22, 1889, with the crack of a pistol. What followed was the most spectacular episode in land grabbing ever seen. This was but a prelude to abortive land booms, religious antagonism, overoptimism, railroad building, farm mortgages, farm tenancy, virtual starvation, oil stock swindles, struggle for political recognition, the building of schools, occasional bumper crops, pests, war, oil discovery, antilabor agitation, Ku Kluxery, inflation, bank failure, depression, relief, Townsendism, and Pearl Harbor. A village that dreamed of becoming a metropolis finally became little more than a nest of filling stations, a few garages, and a distribution point for mail order catalogs in the township where it is located.

This is a book for laymen. A few general quantitative data are given, and these are merely punctuation marks in streams of narration of little town events. Graduate students in Oklahoma chronically write master's theses telling about the various "openings" and the "runs." The author, a Ph.D. from the University of Oklahoma, strives to outdo the freshman gradu-

ate students by making *Prairie City* a composite sketch which might describe any settlement in Oklahoma. The value of this narrative in providing a foundation for future traditions in an area almost lacking in seasoned traditions is inestimable. Whether or not this is a thing of value in itself is another question. It is significant, however, that people who may occupy only a fly speck on the map like to have their simple doings recorded for their children to read about.

The reviewer often wonders why mention of books of this type is ever made in scholarly journals. This one has a preface and an index, but, beyond that, there is no possible way in which it can be implemented to the uses of the objective social investigator. The author does not expect the criteria of empirical research to be applied to it. The volume makes good reading on top of a heavy dinner and a pipeful of good smoking tobacco. That is all.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College

Education in Transition. By H. D. DENT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. xi + 244. \$3.00. *The Education of the Countryman*. By H. M. BURTON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. xi + 251. \$3.00.

These two books are studies of the transition taking place in education in England during the second World War. The old order in education that ignored the relationship between education and social developments is dead.

Education in Transition deals with the change under four processes: disintegration, recuperation, adaptation, and ferment. Disintegration in the educational system began with the evacuation of children and the closing of schools. In this process educators and others saw more clearly than ever before that life was a unified whole and that education was one of the basic activities related to all other activities—"political, economic, industrial, social, religious, personal." Recuperation and adaptation are tending to bring education closer to reality and a new philosophy is emerging slowly that regards the educational process as a "continuous and all-pervasive one embracing the whole of life and conditioning every activity of the individual and of society." It has to be coordinated with all other social services.

The Education of the Countryman deals with the neglect of rural education in England and the neglect of the countryside. Education, suited

to rural areas, is seen as a way to improve the quality of life for country people and the ultimate rehabilitation of the countryside. Traditional segmental thinking seems to be the greatest barrier. Dual control, involving provided and non-provided schools, stands in the way of reform. Non-provided schools are largely church schools; the provided are financed from public funds. These two school systems do not recognize their essential relationships to each other and to society as a whole—thus standing in the way of rural centralization in education that would mean better equipment and more efficient staffing. Education for a democratic way of life and international understanding requires the removal of segmental thinking.

The sociological significance of these books lies in the fact that education is viewed as an integrated part of life, influencing and being influenced by all other phases of the social order. Education is a road to a way of life.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

The Quest for Moral Law. By LOUISE SAXE EBY.

New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. viii + 289. \$3.25.

Critical sociologists will probably find little of value in this book. Nevertheless, it represents a very considerable improvement in treatises in ethics, as compared with those that were written 50 years ago, because it recognizes that there is need of an historical approach to ethical theory; that ethics as a science has "a social structure"; and finally that ethics as a science must be empirical.

It is written by a member of the faculty of Milwaukee-Downer College. The first ten chapters contain a very good review, after the definition of "The Meaning of Moral Law," of classic ethical systems. The last five chapters discuss in a very enlightened way the present position and difficulties of a science of ethics.

The author begins with the great pre-scientific ethical thinkers, Confucius, Buddha, Socrates, and Jesus. Very rightly she presents their ethical systems as having scientific value and relevance to our own. There is little to criticise in her presentation. She penetrates to the heart of the systems of Confucius, Buddha, and Jesus. Very rightly she argues that Jesus is among the great ethical thinkers of the pre-scientific era; and she rightly makes social good will the essential virtue upon which he built his ethical system.

She finds an approach to a scientific method in ethics in Aristotle. She deals at length with

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the work of Thomas Aquinas and his effort to harmonize the teachings of the Christian church with Aristotle. Then she takes up the ethical theories of Spinoza, Kant, and the ethical schools of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This last chapter is perhaps the weakest part of the book. Sociologists will be surprised to learn that "Spencer is the first thinker to make a fruitful combination between ethics and sociology." Comte, we are told, was greatly interested in ethics but failed to insist that it had principles and methods of its own. Spencer was the first to apply the method of sociology to ethics. After Kant the author seems to be most influenced by the thinking of Spencer. She does no more than mention later sociologists. For example, she mentions Westermarck, and Hobhouse, as continuing the work of Spencer, though the two men had entirely antithetical ethical ideas. Marx is briefly discussed, and so also Freud; but Nietzsche and Machiavelli are barely mentioned, although she says that the totalitarian state is the greatest enemy of a science of ethics at the present time.

There is no discussion of the relation of ethical systems and culture. While the implication of the book is that the condition of ethics at the present time depends upon traditions which we have received from the past, and which we have not been able to harmonize through the development of social sciences; yet the author thinks that much weight must be given to the endocrine theory of the development of personality and pays little or no attention to the theory that personality is largely a product of culture. Nevertheless, the last chapters of the book discuss "the threats to personality" and "the aids to character" which are found in our, or in any, social system. The book is worth reading, even though the importance of contemporary sociological thinking for a scientific ethics is ignored.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

Duke University

The T.V.A. Lessons for International Application. By HERMAN FINER. Montreal: International Labour Office, 1944. Pp. viii + 289. \$2.00.

The rapid growth of governmental social planning is one of the striking phenomena of our times. The present study presents a dispassionate, well-documented analysis of what is undoubtedly the largest project to date in regional, as contrasted with national, social planning, and

points out some of the possibilities, and some of the problems, of establishing an international T.V.A. for the development of various backward areas of the world.

Of the 14 chapters, 13 are devoted to reviewing the problems confronted by the American T.V.A., the organization set up and the methods used in dealing with these problems, and the results obtained. The T.V.A. has been a gigantic experiment testing the feasibility of substituting the goal of promoting the general welfare of the people of a community instead of the obtaining of private profit, and of still achieving results justifiable in terms of economy and efficiency. Among the primary achievements set forth have been increasing the residential consumption of electricity more than twice as fast as in the rest of the United States, reducing electric rates about half while rates in the rest of the United States were reduced less than one-third, providing inland-waterway navigation which is saving users over three million dollars a year now, and is expected ultimately to save eight millions annually, and practically abolishing floods in the Tennessee Valley. Among indirect benefits have been an increase in per capita incomes, from 1933 to 1940, of 84 percent as compared with 57 percent in the United States as a whole. All of these, and many other social gains, have been obtained at a net financial profit to the United States, when costs are calculated with full allowance for interest, depreciation, tax losses, and other legitimate expenses and deductions. Appendix III takes up clearly and thoroughly "The Allocation of T.V.A. Power Costs, The Profitability of T.V.A. Power Operations, and the 'Yardstick.'"

"The Problem of an International T.V.A." is discussed in Chapter XIV. It is pointed out that many regions in the world have undeveloped resources, coupled with poverty and social need. The great gains in real income in recent decades have been in those countries which have created or borrowed capital and acquired general education and technical knowledge. Without international assistance it is difficult for a region with a very low margin of existence to make a productive start and thus gain the cumulative benefits.

Some minor defects mar this admirable contribution to social science. There is no index. The first table on p. 244 gives statistics for four different years without naming the years. The first part of table 4 on page 245 is a mere repetition of the table on p. 205. But, despite such blemishes, this volume is indispensable to

sociologists seriously concerned with social planning.

HORNELL HART

Duke University

The People of India. By KUMAR GOSHAL. New York: Sheridan House, 1944. Pp. 375. \$3.00.

The People of India is not an impartial scientific treatise, but the work of a lover of freedom who yearns to overcome America's apathy and false impressions regarding his submerged nation. He selects and marshals the evidence to build up his case. Ardent patriot though he is, he occasionally criticizes the Congress leaders and praises the British. For example, he credits the latter (Part II, Chapter V) with releasing "India from the bondage of the past" by destroying many feudal princes and "much that was rotten" in pre-capitalist Indian society, and with unifying India politically and establishing modern systems of communication.

The author writes with great ability and inside knowledge of the national movement. He speaks "with authority and not as the scribes," who copy from earlier copyists. He has steered clear of many false diatribes and mushy sentimentalities common among Indian nationalists and their American sob-sisters. The jacket says nothing about the author, and the publisher did not answer my inquiries. Is Kumar Goshal a pen name? Up to the point of Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest could the text have been written by Nehru himself? Very few other living men could have written the bulk of the book with its broad historical grasp, its logical analysis, and its restrained omission of the minor points beloved of lesser minds.

This bold attempt to cover the varied and complex facts about India contains numerous overbroad generalizations, and also some unsupported and misleading statements, as in regard to famine in India. Especially toward the end, there are several careless slips. For example, page 149 says, "The exchange value of the rupee was brought down from 2 shillings to 1 shilling 4 pence." During the years after World War I the Government was bitterly charged with exactly the opposite manipulation. "Today one seldom finds Untouchables in the industrial cities of India." (p. 349) Only in the hundreds of thousands!

The fine illustrations reinforce the text.

This significant and trenchant volume is doubtless to be proscribed in India, but deserves to be prescribed reading for all who want to correct the misleading half-truths spawned by

well informed Britishers and ill informed Americans. It rightly asserts that many of our soldiers will be needlessly sacrificed unless Britain at once takes measures to secure India's whole-hearted cooperation in the fight for freedom.

MASON OLcott

Central College

Jews in a Gentile World, the Problem of Anti-Semitism. By ISACQUE GRAEBER and STEUART HENDERSON BRITT, in cooperation with Miriam Beard, Jessie Bernard, Leonard Bloom, J. F. Brown, Joseph W. Cohen, Carleton Stevens Coon, Ellis Freeman, Carl J. Friedrich, J. O. Hertzler, Melville Jacobs, Raymond Kennedy, Samuel Koenig, Jacob Lestchinsky, Carl Mayer, Talcott Parsons, and Everett V. Stonequist. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. x + 436. \$4.00.

If words could solve problems, the problem of the Jew in the Gentile World would have been solved long ago. The Jewish people have had a long history and a wide experience, and they have lived, almost from the beginning, in a world that was not only Gentile but articulate and literate. Under the circumstances, the literature that has accumulated on this subject has reached proportions that are colossal.

Nevertheless, the tragic struggle of the Jewish people for survival in a Gentile world is, it seems, as desperate today as it was when Josephus was accused by the Jewish nationalists of being a Jewish Quisling. And that was two thousand years ago.

Recently students of society, particularly in the United States, have attempted to solve the Jewish, as they have the Negro, problem by definition. It has seemed that if one could achieve an adequate definition of the situation, one would know what to do about it.

But the career of the Jewish people and the Jewish community, as it exists today, presents to the observer who attempts to look at it with detachment, an extraordinary variety of facets, every one of which is likely to suggest a different definition and different approach to a solution. Is Judaism to be identified with a race, a religion, or merely with a racial and cultural minority? Are the Jews to be conceived as a people, like the gypsies, who have preserved a tribal religion in a world where tribal organization of societies has been superseded by national states and tribal religions by religious sects?

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Gentile World seeks to deal and the unique character of the volume consists in the fact that it has attacked the problem from so many and such different points of view—historical, psychological, sociological, and anthropological.

It is obviously impossible that all the papers in this symposium should be of equal value, even though collectively they contributed to our knowledge of Jewish and kindred problems as much or more than any single book so far published has been able to do.

Of the eighteen papers which make up the volume, three at least have impressed me as of outstanding importance. They are the introductory paper by Carl C. Friedrich, which is not only a scholarly essay or survey of a very complex situation, but is at the same time a very accurate diagnosis of the problems involved. It is entitled "Anti-Semitism: Challenge to Christian Culture." Besides this, there is the paper by Talcott Parsons, "The Sociology of Modern Anti-Semitism"—and a third by an anonymous writer entitled "An Analysis of Jewish Culture," which impressed me as the most significant words so far as my reading in this field goes, that have been written on this interesting subject.

It is unfortunately impossible to analyse or even to indicate in the space of a brief review the character and variety of information, analysis and suggestions which the topics here discussed have called forth. The most one can do, under the circumstances, is perhaps to indicate the direction in which as a whole the discussions seem to be taking, and to sum up, if possible in a paragraph, the conclusion to which it seems to lead.

If I am able to interpret the import of this volume, it is summed up in the thesis that the problem of the Jew, whatever it may have been in the past, is at present identical with the problem of Democracy. Democracy is no longer a local or a national problem. On the contrary, in the present posture of affairs, it is rather a world problem. It is, however, before anything else, an American problem because, if there is any place on the planet where people of different races and religions are destined to live and work together in peace and understanding, it is here.

If that was at one time an ideal, merely, it has now become a practical necessity. This is so for one reason, if no other, because the United States national solidarity is based not on race, nor on tradition, but on an ideal, not on

something to be preserved, merely, but on something to be achieved.

ROBERT E. PARK

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Shortly before his death, Doctor Park sent this review to the authors, and it in turn was transmitted to the editors by Dr. Isacque Graeber.)

Social Darwinism in American Thought 1860-1915. By RICHARD HOFSTADTER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (For the American Historical Association), 1944. Pp. x + 191. \$2.50.

This book is primarily history; the author is a member of the Department of History of the University of Maryland and the book is published by the American Historical Association from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund. Specifically, it is a contribution to intellectual history, and, still more specifically, to the history of social thought in this country. It is not, however, concerned with the history or development of the recognized "social sciences," except incidentally and in relation to other, non-academic, currents of social thought. Some idea of its scope can be gained from a *partial* list of the men whose ideas are examined in its pages: Agassiz, John Fiske, Asa Gray (Harvard botanist), Edward L. Youmans, Henry Ward Beecher, Herbert Spencer, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, W. G. Sumner, Lester F. Ward, Henry Drummond, Benjamin Kidd, Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Herbert Croly, William James, John Dewey, Richard T. Ely, Simon N. Patten, Veblen, Small, Baldwin, Cooley.

From this array, which anyone superficially familiar with the intellectual history of the period will recognize as a motley company, one might judge that Hofstadter's study would be almost entirely lacking in unity and coherence. Such is not the case. Using the actual or imputed social implications of Darwin's evolutionary works as a point of departure, the author has with considerable ingenuity and in very readable fashion reviewed the social thought of American intellectuals and reformers through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. If history be defined in accordance with the suggestion of F. J. Teggart, as the study of "how things have come to be what they are," then Hofstadter has done a very good job of showing how the prominent social ideas current early in our own century and even today assumed the specific and controversial forms in

which we find them. By no means all of the thinkers whose ideas are reviewed in this book could be classified as exponents of "Social Darwinism;" some of them reacted strongly against all such doctrines; but the ideas of all are shown to have been affected by Darwinism, directly or indirectly, positively or negatively. Anyone interested in social science or in temporary social problems, be he ever so well informed about the history of his field of interest, could gain some fresh information and a few new interpretations of recent and contemporary social theories, doctrines, and ideals from this book. Though not very long, it is remarkably meaty, and very well written. An informed reader may take exception to some of the author's interpretations and there may even be a few errors of fact, but hardly any interested person will deny that the book is profitable reading.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Institutions Serving Children. By Howard W. Hopkirk. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1944. Pp. xiv + 244. \$2.00.

Ever since Charles Dickens wrote of the plight of orphaned children in 19th century alms houses "with their thin soups and their equally thin Oliver Twists" the public has been apprised of the serious inadequacy, if not complete unfitness, of institutions serving children. During the last century much improvement has been made in the institutional care of children, yet the author of this stimulating volume holds that "probably one-third of present institutions are so lacking in leadership and in resources that to undertake their improvement to any adequate degree is impractical; they should be eliminated. Another third, while painfully sub-standard, are yet so needed as to make their radical improvement of first importance (p. 207). The timeliness of this declaration is at once indicated by the fact that the number of children who need institutional care will probably be greatly increased by the War.

Such a situation provides the background for the vigorous controversy over institutional care which has been waged relentlessly since the First White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children in 1909. Of the same mind as C. C. Carstens, his predecessor as Executive Director of the Child Welfare League of America, Hopkirk maintains that the institution and the foster home are two parts of a whole, namely, the care of children living away from

their own homes (p. 41). Institutions should not serve as residual catch-alls but as agencies designed to render certain special services to specific types of cases. Some children, he holds, need the sort of foster home care provided by a family; others need the foster home care provided by an institution. The institution, that is, should be used as other social agencies are used, namely, when the analysis of the individual case indicates the need for the type of service which the institution is equipped to give. The institution thus becomes a method of treatment.

Mr. Hopkirk renders yeoman's service in clearly indicating which children need institutional care and how institutions serving children should be equipped, staffed and organized to render their unique services to children. Especially valuable are the five chapters which review the basic principles which underlie the care of children in institutions (Part IV). Especially significant is his emphasis upon the role of the trained social worker, not only in matters of intake and of discharge, but more particularly in service to children while they are under care. Mention should also be made of Part V which discusses the methods and objectives of appraisal by means of which institutions may evaluate their work through self-criticism and surveys.

Of the 250,000 children now served by institutions 150,000 are dependent and neglected. This book is written for those concerned with service to such children. Yet the book may be read with much profit by all those charged with the administration of institutions serving delinquent, mentally deficient or physically handicapped children. In fact, the book is written "for all having particular responsibilities for institutions and for all who study institutions, be they public officials, representatives of community councils or welfare funds, social workers, sociologists, educators and others with a definite interest in child welfare." The book makes no claim to completeness except in outline. The author hopes that the book will stimulate further study or provoke fuller treatment of the subjects discussed. The author writes out of a rich experience covering nearly twenty years in child welfare work in which he gained first hand knowledge of institutional problems as a director of recreation, a cottage father, the superintendent of the Albany (New York) Home for Children for five years, a consultant, a teacher and a director of surveys of some 140 children's institutions. This volume is a necessary handbook for all those concerned

directly or indirectly with any institutions serving children.

LOYD V. BALLARD

Beloit College

French Canada in Transition. By EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. 227. \$2.50.

French Canadians are usually thought of by their English-speaking neighbors as old-fashioned people who resist change. They are also commonly regarded as successfully conservative. The first of these two views has some truth in it. The second is based on lack of knowledge or on misinformation. French Canada has changed and is changing.

The process is one of increasing industrialization and urbanization. It began earliest and has gone furthest in Montreal. But in recent decades it has also affected many smaller communities; and it is such areas as these that current French Canadian evolution is easiest to watch. Here completely modernized large-scale industry has suddenly been thrust into Quebec's most archaic form of society—the rural parish. The result has been, for most of the French Canadians involved, a mass of new experiences, problems and ways of life. The strains which would inevitably accompany such changes in any community have been aggravated in the case of French Canada by the fact that most of the new industries are owned and managed by people of foreign speech and birth; that is, by Englishmen and Americans. It is one of these recently industrialized cities that Mr. Hughes describes under the pseudonym of "Cantonville." In 1911 Cantonville was a country trading center with a population of 2,605. By 1937 it had become a factory town containing 19,424 persons. Most of the newcomers were French Canadian *habitants* who had been crowded off the land. These were facing the manifold and essentially new problems of wage earning, town housing, and "Americanized" recreation. The original townpeople themselves, largely French with a sprinkling of English Canadian, found that the industrialization of Cantonville severely disturbed traditional business, professional and institutional conditions and upset any existing inter-racial harmony. The non-French newcomers showed a slight tendency to fuse with the natives. Here the lines of cleavage were ethnic rather than religious.

In the opinion of this reviewer the present study should rate high in its class. The field is covered thoroughly, the material has been well

digested and is presented intelligibly and attractively; there is not a trace of religious, racial or class prejudice.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

Queens College

Citizens for a New World. Edited by ERLING M. HUNT. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1944. Pp. viii + 186. \$2.00.

This book, *Citizens for a New World*, presents no new facts but is a handbook which gives a critical summary of the impact of recent wars on society and civilization. It summarizes the evolution of international cooperation and examines the various purposes for effecting the security of the nations and peoples of the world. It does not deal alone with the particular machinery in various parts of the world, but also with the economic and social foundations upon which our permanent international organization or enduring peace may rest. It is also concerned with the problems of health and social welfare, with labor policies, and with the role of education in building a world order, as well as solving the problems of the Axis peoples. It is valuable as a compendium of views of learned people on the burning problems facing educators and the lay people in a confused world.

This yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies presents a concise statement of a variety of problems by as many authorities. It is therefore not a logical development of a single aspect of the critical problems facing us. It for that reason differs from the numerous monographs and books dealing with problems of the post-war world. It is valuable for the teacher and layman in that it provides a critical introduction to the study of problems with which everyone is concerned. The careful reading of this book will give the layman a fair understanding of the character of the problems facing America and the world; it will give the student a good introduction as a basis for the more extended study of the problems of society in the post-war world.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

New York University

Japanese in the United States. Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943. Pp. xxiii + 618. Cloth, \$3.25.

This report traces (Part I) the developments leading to the Japanese exclusion order and the alleged military necessity thereof. Part II pre-

sents ". . . a resume of the evacuation method. In these chapters the means provided to protect the persons, the property and the health of evacuees are described. In succeeding Parts [III to VIII] a more detailed account of each phase of the operation is found. . . . Only those data essential to an understanding of the subject are included in the appendices (p. viii). . . . The great volume of secondary source material will remain on file at this Headquarters [Western Defense Command]. All of these data will be available for research purposes whenever the Secretary of War so directs" (p. x). Included in the contents are eighty-one tables, forty-six figures (maps, charts, etc.), a photographic summary, five appendices and an index.

Sociologists who have labored earnestly in recent years to show the fundamental difference, at least in Federal official circles, between our attitude on the subject of race as compared with the Fascists' will be interested in the following paragraph:

"In the war in which we are now engaged racial affinities are not severed by migration. *The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become "Americanized," the racial strains are undiluted.* To conclude otherwise is to expect that children born of white parents on Japanese soil sever all racial affinity and become loyal Japanese subjects, ready to fight and, if necessary, to die for Japan in a war against the nation of their parents. That Japan is allied with Germany and Italy in this struggle is no ground for assuming that any Japanese, barred from assimilation by convention as he is, though born and raised in the United States, will not turn against this nation when the final test of loyalty comes. It, therefore, follows that along the vital Pacific Coast over 112,000 potential enemies, of Japanese extraction, are at large today. There are indications that these are organized and ready for concerted action at a favorable opportunity. *The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken.*" [Italics mine]

I had seen Secretary Ickes' recent statement (April 1944) that since the war began, not a single case of sabotage has been proved against the Japanese even in Hawaii but I had failed to realize the sinister significance of this fact as pointed out in the last sentence of the above quotation. Clearly, we have here a new type of logic which may help to explain many otherwise inexplicable activities of public officials during the past decade. Psychiatrists should find the

case useful as an illustration of aggravated paranoia. The author of the above passage also would seem to be ideally qualified to step into certain administrative positions abroad if and when such duties are called for, as he clearly understands and shares the prevailing attitudes in these countries on race and the methods of dealing with such problems. If anyone is left in doubt from the somewhat incoherent sentences of the above passage regarding our official attitude as to the meaning of "Japanese ancestry," he may turn to the Glossary (p. 514) for the entry: "Any person who has a Japanese ancestor regardless of degree, is considered a person of Japanese ancestry." This appears to be at least as rigorous as the definition of Jewish ancestry in Germany. However, also our authorities saw fit to make certain exceptions (a total of 465) for persons of mixed blood and even one full-blooded Japanese male who was apparently made a sort of honorary Aryan because of "long and honorable service in the United States Navy" (p. 147).

Aside from such gems as the above, the most interesting part of this informative volume is perhaps the seventy-eight page pictorial summary. One gets the impression that the evacuation must have been such fun for the Japanese. They are nearly all laughing and having such a good time.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Bennington College

Education for War and Peace. Edited by GRAYSON KAFAUVER. Stanford University: Stanford University Press; 1942. Pp. 39.

The chief merit of this small monograph on the role of education in war and peace is the fact that it arrived on the scene at a time when post-war planning was not nearly so popular as it has since become. When the workshop which produced this pamphlet met at Stanford University the United States was still teetering on the brink of isolationism. Prominent educators were uttering a kind of intellectual double-talk in which democracy and totalitarianism were carelessly made interchangeable.

The workshop device which has now become so popular in American schools and colleges functioned with a high degree of success at this Stanford meeting in 1942. The technical staff consisted of Grayson Kefauver, William G. Carr, Daniel McNaughton, I. James Quillen and the present reviewer. The participants were representative teachers and administrators of secondary education. They began their work on

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the basis of two major assumptions, namely that the United Nations must both win the war and establish conditions favorable to the development of democracy. The role of education in realizing these two objectives was thereupon defined in terms of responsibilities ranging from interpretation of the meaning of the war to preparations for world citizenship. Perhaps, the most important section of the report is the last which includes some fifty concrete proposals leading to action on behalf of teachers and school administrators.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

New York School of Social Work

The Navaho Door. By ALEXANDER H. and DOROTHEA C. LEIGHTON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944. Pp. xviii + 149. \$4.00.

This is, as the subtitle explains, "An Introduction to Navaho Life," and also, as the authors state, a work prepared especially for medical or social service workers among the Navaho. A foreword by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, gives an appraisal of these two doctors, the Leightons, among the Navaho, and indicates the application of their findings and methods to fields much larger than the Navaho tribe. "This book," he says, "is meant for Indian Service workers, in the first instance." The authors introduce the reader to the character of the country in which the Navaho live and give a brief account of features of their culture, especially some phases of magico-religious beliefs and practices, particularly those which center about the theory of disease and its treatment. They describe in some detail, taking specific instances, the difficulty of treating the Navaho medically, unless one takes account of the presuppositions and presumptions of the patient. If one does so, and also takes the trouble to explain, in language and concepts intelligible to the Navaho, the procedure of the White man's medical treatment and its rationale, usually one can make progress. For example: four has a symbolic significance with the Navaho and enters almost all of their fundamental concepts, rituals, and ceremonials. The doctor, then, if it is feasible to do so, will tell his patient to take the prescribed medicine four times a day; and will specify the times of day by indicating the position of the sun at the respective periods; almost precisely as a Navaho would do. Thus, the doctor uses a language which the patient understands. Patients, or their relatives, are shown X-ray plates and the elements of the read-

ing of the plates are explained to them. They are told the elements of the germ theory, but always in language which involves no strain on the concepts of the Navaho. The White doctor, to prevent the spread of contagion, talks to tribesmen a language which they fully understand, for they have their aboriginal concepts of magical contagion and also of ritual purification. What the reviewer can only indicate in general terms the authors illustrate with many specific cases—with regard to the treatment for tuberculosis, smallpox, diphtheria, and other diseases, giving samples of the treatment and conversation fitted to each occasion. They record also several autobiographic case histories.

It must be rare indeed that an important work is done by precisely the proper people in precisely the proper way and presented to the public in a manner which leaves nothing to be desired. This seems to be that rare concourse of persons and events. As though to cap this high achievement the publisher has produced a volume, containing many fine illustrations, the format of which will delight the reader.

WILSON D. WALLIS

University of Minnesota

Verifiability of Value. By RAY LEPLEY. Columbia University Press, xi + 267 pp. \$3.50.

Too often have social scientists dismissed problems of value as beyond the scope of their fields of inquiry and have in effect evaded these problems which are in fact an integral part of their investigations. Professor Lepley's book is an attempt to show how the study and treatment of value judgments can be brought within the methodology of science. In addition, it is a concise survey of the problems of contemporary value theory in its relations to the sciences and to other fields of philosophy. By examining the possibilities of the transposability of value propositions and fact propositions Professor Lepley suggests a method whereby value judgments can be brought within the scope of scientific social research. He concludes also that the experimental method of verification is just as applicable to value judgments as to judgments of fact once the necessary transpositions in their correlative propositions are effected. Finally, he argues that only by further extension of the experimental method of verification in science, morals, and the arts can the good society be achieved.

Now if propositions are symbols of judgments they are abstractions from the latter, and it might well be argued that establishing the trans-

possibility of propositions (value and fact) does not make possible the transposition of judgments (value and fact). Consider also the fact that value propositions translated into fact propositions involve still further abstraction, and one wonders whether the values and facts involved in value and fact judgments are actually transposable. It does seem, however, that if the

necessary integration of values with the facts of scientific social research is to be achieved Professor Lepley's suggestions could play an important role in effecting that integration. That is why *Verifiability of Value* is important reading for social scientists and philosophers.

H. G. SCHRICKEL

U. S. Navy

UNSIGNED BOOK NOTES

Farm Youth in the 4-H Club, Part I. By W. A. ANDERSON and D. B. FALES. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, N.Y., April, 1944. (Rural Sociology Mimeographed Bulletin No. 13) 22 pp. No price indicated.

Farm Youth in the 4-H Club, Part II. By W. A. ANDERSON. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, N.Y., May, 1944. (Rural Sociology Mimeographed Bulletin No. 14) 14 pp. No price indicated.

These bulletins are the 6th and 7th on the social participation of farm families published by the Cornell University Department of Rural Sociology. Detailed, point by point, comparisons are made of the activities and characteristics of those who belong to 4-H clubs with those who do not belong. The principal (and thoroughly familiar) result is the demonstration "that the 4-H clubs tend to draw their membership from families that enjoy, generally, more economic and social advantages" than do the families of non-members. The factual data and distributions showing these results constitute the major contents of these bulletins.

Bibliography of Morale. By BENJAMIN CHUBAK. Available from the compiler, No. 5, 76th Street, North Bergen, New Jersey. Mimeographed, 34 pp. \$1.00.

A list of 625 references on morale covering the years 1937-1943 inclusive. This is said to be a revision of the list issued in 1943 by the War Service Committee, The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Harvard University.

I Wanted to See. By BORGHILD DAHL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. 210. \$2.00.

A fluently written, autobiographical account of the achievements of a near-blind woman who, despite her handicap, has gained professional status in the field of education.

Fear in Battle. By JOHN DOLLARD. Washington: The Infantry Journal, 1944. Pp. 64. No price indicated.

A summary of a quantitative investigation of the incidence of fear in battle, and factors associated with increase or decrease in fear, based on questionnaire reports of the battle experiences of American volunteers making up the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Civil War in Spain.

The Innocents at Cedro. A Memoir of Thorstein Veblen and Some Others. By R. L. DUFFUS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. 163. \$2.00.

The serious student of Veblen's thought system will not find anything new in this autobiographical addition to Vebleniana. The nineteen-year old Duffus was not a Boswell; neither could he anticipate the event that Veblen would in time achieve the distinction of changing economics from a dismal science into sociology. The year at Cedro cottage might otherwise have yielded a rich record of table talk and less comment and speculation about Veblen's amorous adventures.

A History of Community Interest in a Juvenile Court. By ALLAN EAST. The Oregon Probation Association, 66 N.W. Macleay Blvd., Portland, Oregon. 32 pp. \$5.50.

A brief account of the development of interest and activities related to the care of juveniles in Multnomah County, Oregon, from 1885 through 1942.

Families Displaced in a Federal Sub-Marginal Land Purchase Program. By NELSON FOOTE, W. A. ANDERSON, and WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, N.Y., January 1944. (Rural Sociology Mimeographed Bulletin No. 11) 34 pp. No price indicated.

This is a report on some of the social aspects of the resettlement experiment in New York. Conditions and results reported here differ only

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in degree from the general story told in several earlier accounts dealing with the same problem in other states. Seventy-five percent of the families considered themselves as "better off as a result of disposing of the old place and reestablishing themselves in new situations." (p. 30). "In most cases, it appeared that the program of change was harder to bear emotionally than financially." (p. 27).

Rehabilitation of Disabled Servicemen; Bulletin 161. Compiled by FELICIA FUSS. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Library. March, 1944. Pp. 8. \$10.

Selected Bibliography. Lists 132 references. Good selection, including representative foreign material.

A Guide to Public Opinion Polls. By GEORGE GALLUP. Princeton. Princeton University Press, 1944. Pp. 104. \$1.50.

Timely. Scope, function, and methods of public opinion research are described by means of Gallup-like questions and answers. Short, concise descriptions are given, problems of public opinion polls are analyzed in language that can readily be understood by the layman. A comparison is made between public opinion polls and various other types of forecasts popular today.

The Aborigines—"So-called"—And Their Future. By G. S. GHURYE. Poona, India: Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1943. Pp. 232. 16s.

Interesting sociological study of the lower Hindus and Aborigines of India, with emphasis on the politico-economic structures of the country as outstanding influences. An attempt is made to show the British occupation and exploitation of the country as the basis for the major problems. Present policies are claimed to be inconsistent and unsuccessful and an approach to an alternative solution is offered.

Socio-Economic Evolution in a Timbered Area in Northern Michigan (A Case Study of Cheboygan, Michigan, 1890-1940). By D. L. GIBSON. Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin 193. East Lansing: Michigan State College, 1944. 76 pp.

This case study describes the economic and social changes in a Michigan community during a half century after the loss of its major economic base. It is valuable in that the town presented is fairly representative of those towns

in the Lake States Cut-Over Region which shared the loss of their major natural resource, timber.

Municipal Research Bureaus. By NORMAN N. GILL. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. Pp. 178. \$2.50.

The Nation's leading citizen-supported agencies are described as to research activities, citizen education, and types of agencies. A history of the research bureau movement is given, and sources of financing such projects revealed. The organization of the administrative and working staffs is outlined.

Systematic Wage Administration in the Southern California Aircraft Industry. By ROBERT D. GRAY. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc. 1943. Pp. 90. \$1.25.

A timely account of the plan developed and in use in 7 major aircraft companies. A descriptive analysis of job evaluations, the development of rate structures, and the conversion of evaluations into wage rates, form the main body of the book. Five appendices and a glossary are included.

Los Angeles: Its People and Its Homes. By EARL HANSON and PAUL BECKETT: Los Angeles: The Haynes Foundation, 1944. Pp. 208. \$1.00. *Los Angeles County Population and Housing Data*. By EARL HANSON. Pp. 30. \$2.25.

The first of these monographs presents an analysis and interpretation of the 1940 census population and housing data for the city of Los Angeles; and the second is an amplification, with the data for the remainder of Los Angeles County, without interpretation. Of particular value to persons interested directly or indirectly in the demographic features of Los Angeles County are the breakdowns into rates and percentages of the data by Census Tracts.

Wartime Budget for a Single Working Woman. (Prices for San Francisco, March 1944). Mimeographed, 17 pp. \$20. *Wartime Budgets for Three Income Levels*. (Prices for San Francisco, March 1944.) Mimeographed, 113 pp. \$85. *Wartime Food for Four Income Levels* (Prices for San Francisco, March 1944). Mimeographed, 45 pp. \$35. Issued by The Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, University of California, Berkeley; University of California Press, 1944.

These additions to the Heller Committee series represent the 1944 version of similar studies for 1943 which were reviewed in the June 1944 issue of the *American Sociological Review*, pp. 236-37.

Bibliography on the Japanese in American Agriculture. By HELEN E. HENNEFRUND and ORPHA CUMMINGS. Bibliographical Bulletin No. 3, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. January 1944. (For sale by Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.) 61 pp. \$1.15.

A carefully annotated bibliography of 393 titles of books, articles, and public documents on this important subject available in the English language. Some of the items are translations of Japanese speeches and parliamentary debates on the same problem.

Selected Social Factors Affecting Participation of Farmers in Agricultural Extension Work. By CHARLES R. HOFFER. Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Special Bulletin 331. East Lansing: Michigan State College, 1944. 39 pp.

If the assumption that participation of farmers in agricultural extension work is a valid measure of the effectiveness of the extension services, this study should provide a useful predictive instrument for the success of projected extension work.

Libraries, Librarians, and the Negro. Atlanta, Georgia: The Staff of the School of Library Service, Atlanta University, 1944. Pp. 37.

A brief survey of the opportunities in Library service, the qualifications required and the school opportunities available, with special emphasis on the Negro.

Vital Statistics Rates in the United States, 1900-1940, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. By FORREST E. LINDER and ROBERT D. GROVE. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943. Pp. 1051. \$1.75.

Problems of classification and tabulation of vital statistics data are discussed. Definitions and interpretation of vital statistics rates, crude and specific, are given. Problems of death rates and other indices of mortality are analyzed. This valuable source book of the statistics of vital phenomena contains 929 pages of detailed tables and a useful index of 4 pages, as well as 90 pages on statistical methodology.

Elementary Statistical Methods. By WILLIAM ADDISON NEISWANGER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. xviii + 740. \$4.00.

Although directed primarily to the beginning student in economics and business, this text might well be used as supplementary reading for students of "social" statistics. The author's simplicity of presentation, seemingly resting on the assumption that the average college student has long since forgotten his high school algebra (and even how to compute a square root and "where to put the decimal point"), will no doubt lend a little aid and comfort to the student who looks upon statistics as a diabolical tool understood solely by mathematical geniuses. Of particular interest to teachers of sociology are the chapters dealing with the uses of statistical tools, common fallacies of interpretation, and the conduct of a statistical investigation, in addition to the usual chapters on sampling, tabular presentation of materials, measures of central tendency and dispersion, linear functions, and first-order correlation.

Probing Our Prejudices. By HORTENSE POWDER-MAKER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. Pp. 73. Cloth \$1.00; Paper \$.65.

This is one in a series of manuals intended to help the schools to deal with inter-cultural and inter-racial tensions. It is addressed to the high school student and explains the historical and psychological bases of specific prejudices in terms comprehensible to him. In pointing out some of the causes and costs of prejudice and suggesting activities through which the student can combat them, it should help to fill an educational gap in most high school curricula.

Psychodrama Monographs. Published by Beacon House, New York. The type of analysis presented in all of the following monographs is well known to those who follow the therapeutic theater of Moreno and his disciples:

Sociodrama, A Method for the Analysis of Social Conflicts. No. 1. By J. L. Moreno. 1944. 16 pp. \$1.25.

Explanation of the method for uncovering the roots of social conflicts.

Psychodramatic Treatment of Performance Neurosis. No. 2. By J. L. Moreno. 1944. 30 pp. \$1.50.

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Mental Catharsis and the Psychodrama. No. 6. By J. L. Moreno. 1944. 24 pp. \$1.25.

Presents a theoretical explanation of the cathartic effect of the psychodrama on the mental patient and of the spontaneity techniques developed by Moreno.

Reality Practice as Educational Method. No. 9. By Charles E. Hendry, Ronald Lippitt and Alvin Zander. 1944. 36 pp. \$1.50.

Attempts to summarize the results of experimenting with role-planning used as a functional basis for teaching.

Psychodrama in the Schools. No. 10. By Nahum E. Shoobs. 1944. 19 pp. \$1.50.

Personality adjustment treated in the schools by class participation in the psychodrama. Dramatization of the performance of 18 maladjusted boys.

Role Analysis and Audience Structure. No. 12. By Zerka Toeman. 1944. 19 pp. \$1.25.

A psychodramatic experiment in placing the soldier on the therapeutic stage to aid military adjustment. Indicates immediate reaction only.

The School Controversy: 1891-1893. By DANIEL F. REILLY. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943. Pp. x + 302. No price indicated.

This Ph.D. thesis from the Catholic University of America reviews with full documentation for the period indicated the Roman Catholic aspects of the controversy over the use of public funds for religious and parochial education and the relation of such instruction to the public schools. Considerable attention is given the divergence of views on the school question within the church as well as to the opposition from without.

An Introduction to Statistical Analysis. (Rev. Ed.) By C. H. RICHARDSON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1944. Pp. 498. \$4.00.

A clear, concise presentation of the fundamentals of statistical analysis. The present edition represents an enlargement of the scope of the previous editions and includes a greater emphasis on description and induction. This is all to the good in providing a more useful textbook.

A Guide to Published Data for Cities of the United States. By PRESSLY S. SIKES. Bloomington: Bureau of Government Research, Indiana University, 1943. Pp. 48.

Bibliography listing 104 references to published statistical data applying to a large selection of cities in the United States. A comprehensive subject index and list of directories of city officials is included.

Projects and Source Materials in Social Statistics—Pacific Coast. Compiled by Sub-Committee on Social Statistics, Pacific Coast Regional Committee, Social Science Research Council. Berkeley: University of California, 1944. 52 pp. No price indicated.

This is the first compilation of source materials and current statistical research to be made for the Pacific Coast Area. The fields dealt with are population, labor, health and welfare, housing, crime, and delinquency.

Soviet Culture in Wartime, Number 2. San Francisco: American Russian Institute, 1944. 48 pp. \$25.

Readers of *Soviet Culture in Wartime*: 1943 will find that the 1944 version follows the earlier pattern. The objectives of the efforts of the American Russian Institute are the stimulation of favorable attitudes and the promotion of good public relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. In keeping with the objective it is natural to find that the articles and discussions presented for the American reader take the form of sympathetic appreciations rather than critical analysis or considered appraisals.

Bibliography on Criminology, Penology and Allied Subjects. Compiled by HERMAN K. SPECTOR. New York: Department of Correction, Penitentiary of the City of New York, 1944. 190 pp. No price indicated.

A bibliography primarily for the professional. It contains 1973 references by 1259 authors, each with a brief annotation. It covers systematically the broad general subjects of interest to the criminologist, such as crime and criminals, police, juvenile delinquency, and further subdivides each general topic. The same treatment is given to related subjects such as psychology and psychiatry, education and medical services.

The Children of Allegany County, Maryland: A Report to the Allegany County Co-ordinating Council of Social Agencies. By JAMES E. SPITZNAS. Allegany County Co-ordinating

Council of Social Agencies, Cumberland, Maryland, June, 1944. Mimeographed. 78 pp. No price indicated.

A factual report of the school survey type based on information obtained from public and parochial school children. The principal point of concern has been to determine how the children used their out-of-school time and the extent to which the out-of-school activities were organized and directed by the community.

War-Time China. By MAXWELL STEWART. American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1944. IPR Pamphlet No. 10. 63 pp. 25¢.

This Institute of Pacific Relations pamphlet on China by the editor of the widely circulated Public Affairs Pamphlets gives an authoratative, balanced discussion of the problems, resources, personalities, and confusions in that much misunderstood land. Written for the purpose of aiding "discussion of United States relations with Far Eastern countries" and aimed at the "intelligent layman" it succeeds well in carrying out its modest objectives.

Discovering Ourselves. (Second Ed.) By EDWARD A. STRECKER and KENNETH E. APPEL. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. 434. \$3.00.

A popular presentation of "the essentials of dynamic psychology, the principles of psychiatry and mental hygiene." It leans heavily on Freud, Jung, and Adler. The chief complexes (insistent and "emotional thinking" and acting) are three: Ego (self-assertion, self-preservation, etc.), Sex, and Herd (gregariousness, desire for social approval, etc.). These three complexes are in frequent conflict at differing levels of consciousness. A chapter each is devoted to 14 typical ways of handling these conflicts. Some of these include: regression, rationalization, repression, dissociation, substitution, projection, and sublimation.

Suggested Research Topics in the Fields of Business and Economics: 1944. Economic Series

No. 38 of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. September 1944. Mimeographed. Free on request. 31 pp.

This is the current (and third) list of "Research Topics" issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce "in expectation of some revival in research activities in the schools of business and Bureaus of Business Research." One hundred and four projects are described with about one hundred words devoted to each topic.

A Survey of Youth Guidance Opportunities Through Social Service Agencies in Omaha. By T. EARL SULLINGER and MARY MILES. Bureau of Social Research, Municipal University of Omaha, Nebraska, 1944. Mimeographed. 40 pp. No price indicated.

Brief descriptive, non-critical, statements about the "youth activities" of more than fifty "social service agencies" of Omaha, Nebraska.

Tacoma: The City We Build. A report from the Mayor's Research Committee on Urban Problems (Dr. Paul R. Fossum, Chairman). Published under the auspices of the Tacoma City Council with the cooperation of Belle Reeves, Secretary of State. Tacoma, Washington, 1944. Lithographed. Pp. 147. No price indicated.

A description of the industrial and commercial structure, demographic features, and community services of present-day Tacoma, with special reference to its interdependence with the Puget Sound Area and the Pacific Northwest region. Recommendations for future planning for the city, the area, and the region.

The Way Our People Lived. By W. E. WOODWARD. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1944. Pp. 402. \$3.95.

An informal, readable, but not always too accurate, presentation of certain specific periods in American History from Colonial days to 1908. Recommended as an interest-catcher, but as a reference book should be used with caution.

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